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LECTURES

ON

HISTORY,

AND

GENERAL POLICY;

TO WHICH IS PREFIXED,

AN ESSAY ON A COURSE OF LIBERAL EDUCATION FOR CIVIL AND ACTIVE LIFE.

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ac

By JOSEPH PRIESTLEY, LL.D. F.R.S.

AC. IMP. PETROP. R. PARIS. HOLM. TAURIN. AUREL. MED. PARIS. HARLEM. CANTAB. AMERIC. ET PHILAD. SOCIUS.

——— JUVAT EXHAUSTOS ITERARE LABORES,
ET SULCATA MEIS PERCURRER [illegible] MIS.

BUCHANANI FRANCISC....

BIRMINGHAM,

PRINTED BY PEARSON AND ROLLASON, FOR J. JOHNSON, N° 72, ST. PAUL'S CHURCH-YARD, LONDON.

MDCCLXXXVIII.

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THE

DEDICATION.

TO

BENJAMIN VAUGHAN, Esq.

DEAR SIR,

THESE Lectures were formerly addressed to you as a pupil; and I shall think myself happy if what you say you heard with pleasure formerly, do not disappoint you now; which is often the case with the objects of our fond admiration in younger years. Consider, however, that these Lectures were not intended for *proficients* but for *students*, unfurnished with the very rudiments of historical and political knowledge, and that you attended them at the age of sixteen.

With this allowance, it may give you pleasure (as the motto from my favourite Latin poet expresses it)

it) *to go over the ground you have formerly trodden.* Remember, then, that you are now to read for *amuſement*, and not for *inſtruction;* and I ſhall be happy if the ſcenes which I may bring to your recollection give you as much ſatisfaction as they do me. For I never experience greater, than when I find young men of ability formed to virtue, and uſefulneſs in life, under my inſtructions.

My obligations to your father, to yourſelf, and to the whole of your large and reſpectable family, will always be a ſubject of pleaſing recollection to me; and this is a circumſtance that greatly heightens the ſatisfaction I have in ſubſcribing myſelf on this occaſion,

Dear Sir,

Your affectionate Friend,

J. PRIESTLEY.

BIRMINGHAM,
JAN. 1, 1788.

THE

PREFACE.

AT the requeſt of many of my former pupils, I now publiſh the heads of the *Lectures on Hiſtory and general Policy*, which I compoſed for their uſe when I was tutor at Warrington, and which I promiſed to do when I publiſhed my *Eſſay on the firſt principles of Government*. I prefix to them an *Eſſay on a courſe of liberal Education for civil and active Life*, which has been long out of print, and which will no more accompany my *Miſcellaneous Obſervations relating to Education*. It will be very evident that it has a much nearer connexion with theſe lectures, which were compoſed in purſuance of the ideas which I have there enlarged upon. The following circumſtance gave birth to them both.

On my accepting the office of *Tutor in the Languages and Belles Lettres* in that academy, I found that the far greater part of the ſtudents were young gentlemen deſigned for civil and active life, whereas the courſe of ſtudy, as in all other places of liberal education, was almoſt intirely adapted to *the learned profeſſions*; and it occurred to me that, beſides the lectures which they had been uſed to attend, other courſes might be introduced, which would bring them acquainted with ſuch branches of knowledge as would be of more immediate uſe to them when they ſhould come into life. With this view I planned and compoſed three courſes, one on *hiſtory in general*, another on *the hiſtory of England*, and a third on *the laws and conſtitution of England*, ſyllabuſes of which will be ſeen on my former *Eſſay on Education*.

The publication of *Blackſtone's Commentaries*, and of *Sullivan's Law Lectures*, have made it unneceſſary to publiſh the third of theſe courſes, and *Henry's hiſtory of England* has ſuperſeded the ſecond, though my plans will be ſeen to be, in ſeveral reſpects, more comprehenſive than theirs, eſpecially than that of Dr. Blackſtone. But no publication that I have yet ſeen will probably be thought to ſuperſede the lectures contained in this volume. For beſides what relates to *hiſtory*, I endeavoured to bring into it as many articles of *miſcellaneous knowledge* as I could, in order to enlarge the minds of young men, and to give them liberal views of many important ſubjects, and ſuch as could not ſo well be brought before them in any other courſe.

So far, therefore, was I from endeavouring to keep ſtrictly to the title which I firſt gave theſe lectures, viz. *on Hiſtory*, that I ſtudied to exceed thoſe bounds as much as, with any propriety, I poſſibly could; and I ſoon found that, under the head of *objects of attention to an hiſtorian*, or a reader of hiſtory, I could eaſily bring the very important ſubject of *general policy*, or an account of thoſe things which principally contribute to render the great ſocieties of mankind happy, numerous, and ſecure, with which young men of fortune cannot be too well acquainted. The reader muſt not, however, expect to find any thing more than the outline of this branch of knowledge. For *general principles* are all that can be taught at a place of education. The *details* of things muſt be left to men's reſearches afterwards. Through the whole I hope I have kept in mind, that the moſt important object of education is to form the minds of youth to virtue; and therefore I have made a point of omitting no fair opportunity of introducing ſuch obſervations and reflections as appeared to me to have that tendency, eſpecially at the beginning and the cloſe of the courſe.

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I muſt alſo remind the reader, that all he is to expect from theſe lectures is a judicious ſelection, and arrangement, of the knowledge that was to be collected from books which were extant at the time when they were compoſed. Many of the obſervations, however, are, as far as I know, original; but, at this diſtance of time, it is not in my power to diſtinguiſh thoſe that are ſo from thoſe which I collected from other writers. I cannot in all caſes even diſtinguiſh my own compoſition from the extracts which I made from the works of others; and not having at firſt any intention of publiſhing theſe Lectures, I neglected to take notes of the books that I quoted. But this is of little conſequence to the reader; it being ſufficient for him if the *facts* may be depended upon, and the *obſervations* juſt. It will be found, however, that I have enlarged this courſe ſince the ſyllabus of it was firſt printed, with many valuable articles, collected from works which have been publiſhed ſince, eſpecially *Dr. Smith on the Wealth of Nations*, and *Stuart's Principles of Political Oeconomy*; and my wiſh is, that by the illuſtration of ſome general principles in ſuch works as theſe, I may excite in youth a deſire to become better acquainted with them.

Theſe lectures will be found to be of very unequal lengths, and the reaſon of this will not always appear. But this circumſtance is of little conſequence, either to the reader, or to any perſon who may think proper to make uſe of them in his own lecturing. My method, as in all my other lectures, was to read the text, and illuſtrate it by a familiar addreſs, queſtioning the pupils very particularly on the ſubject of the former lecture before I proceeded to a new one; and on ſome of the ſubjects I happened to have much more to ſay to them, and to enquire of them, than on others. Alſo, in going over the lectures a ſecond time,

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I paid little regard to the diviſions I had firſt made, but took in more or leſs matter, as I found convenient at the time; and this I would adviſe other lecturers to do.

The only courſe of lectures, compoſed and delivered while I was at Warrington, that I have any thoughts of publiſhing beſides this, is one on *the Theory of Language and Univerſal Grammar*, which was printed for the uſe of the ſtudents, but not publiſhed. If this be done at all, it will be in conjunction with the additions that Dr. Kippis made to it, when he did me the honour to make it his text-book at the Academy in Hoxton. This joint work I wiſh to remain as a monument of our friendſhip, and eſpecially of the gratitude I owe him for his kindneſs to me in a period in which I wanted a friend. He and Dr. Benſon were ſome of the firſt whom I could truly place in that claſs.

The lectures on *Oratory and Criticiſm*, which I compoſed at Warrington, have been ſome time before the Public. In them I have made great uſe of Dr. Hartley's doctrine of *aſſociation of ideas*, which appears to me to ſupply an eaſy ſolution of almoſt all the difficulties attending this curious ſubject, and gives us ſolid maxims, inſtead of arbitrary fancy. In this extenſive application of the doctrine of aſſociation to the buſineſs of criticiſm, I think I have ſome claim to merit.

THE

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AN

ESSAY

ON A COURSE OF

LIBERAL EDUCATION

FOR CIVIL AND ACTIVE LIFE.

FIRST PUBLISHED IN 1764.

IT ſeems to be a defect in our preſent ſyſtem of public education, that a proper courſe of ſtudies is not provided for gentlemen who are deſigned to fill the principal ſtations of *active life*, diſtinct from thoſe which are adapted to the *learned profeſſions*. We have hardly any medium between an education for the counting-houſe, conſiſting of writing, arithmetic, and merchants'-accounts, and a method of inſtitution in the abſtract ſciences: ſo that we have nothing liberal, that is worth the attention of *gentlemen*, whoſe views neither of theſe two oppoſite plans may ſuit.

Formerly, none but the clergy were thought to have any occaſion for learning. It was natural, therefore, that the whole plan of education, from the grammar-ſchool to the finiſhing at the univerſity, ſhould be calculated for their uſe. If a few other perſons, who were not deſigned for holy orders, offered themſelves for education, it could not be expected

pected that a courſe of ſtudies ſhould be provided for them only. And, indeed, as all thoſe perſons who ſuperintended the buſineſs of education were of the clerical order, and had themſelves been taught nothing but the rhetoric, logic, and ſchool-divinity, or civil law, which comprized the whole compaſs of human learning for ſeveral centuries, it could not be expected that they ſhould entertain larger, or more liberal, views of education; and ſtill leſs, that they ſhould ſtrike out a courſe of ſtudy, for the uſe of men who were univerſally thought to have no need of ſtudy; and, of whom, few were ſo ſenſible of their own wants as to deſire any ſuch advantage.

Beſides, in thoſe days, the great ends of human ſociety ſeem to have been but little underſtood. Men of the greateſt rank, fortune, and influence, and who took the lead in all the affairs of ſtate, had no idea of the great objects of wiſe and extenſive policy; and therefore could never apprehend that any fund of knowledge was requiſite for the moſt eminent ſtations in the community. Few perſons imagined what were the true ſources of wealth, power, and happineſs, in a nation. Commerce was little underſtood, or even attended to; and ſo ſlight was the connexion of the different nations of Europe, that general politics were very contracted. And thus, men's views being narrow, little previous furniture of mind was requiſite to conduct them.

The conſequence of all this was, that the advances which were made to a more perfect and improved ſtate of ſociety were very ſlow; and the preſent happier ſtate of things was brought about, rather by an accidental concurrence of circumſtances, than by any efforts of human wiſdom and foreſight. We ſee the hand of Divine Providence in thoſe revolutions which have gradually given a happier turn to affairs, while men have been the paſſive and blind inſtruments of their own felicity.

But the ſituation of things at preſent is vaſtly different from what it was two or three centuries ago. The objects of human attention are prodigiouſly multiplied; the connexions of ſtates are extended; a reflection upon our preſent advantages, and the ſteps by which we have arrived to the degree of power and happineſs we now enjoy, has ſhewn us the true ſources of them; and ſo thoroughly awakened are all the ſtates of Europe

to a ſenſe of their true intereſts, that we are convinced, the ſame ſupine inattention with which affairs were formerly conducted is no longer ſafe; and that, without ſuperior degrees of wiſdom and vigour in political meaſures, every thing we have hitherto gained will infallibly be loſt, and be quickly transferred to our more intelligent and vigilant neighbours. In this critical poſture of affairs, more lights, and ſuperior induſtry, are requiſite, both to miniſters of ſtate, and to all perſons who have any influence in ſchemes of public and national advantage; and conſequently a different and a better furniture of mind is requiſite to be brought into the buſineſs of life.

This is certainly a call upon us to examine the ſtate of *education* in this country, and to conſider how thoſe years are employed which men paſs previous to their entering into the world: for upon this their future behaviour, and ſucceſs, muſt, in a great meaſure depend. A tranſition, which is not eaſy, can never be made with advantage; and therefore it is certainly our wiſdom to contrive, that the ſtudies of youth ſhould tend to fit them for the buſineſs of manhood; and that the objects of their attention, and turn of thinking in younger life, ſhould not be too remote from the deſtined employment of their riper years. If this be not attended to, they muſt neceſſarily be mere novices upon entering the great world, be almoſt unavoidably embarraſſed in their conduct, and, after all the time and expence beſtowed upon their education, be indebted to a ſeries of blunders for the moſt uſeful knowledge they will ever acquire.

In what manner ſoever thoſe gentlemen who are not of any learned profeſſion, but who, in other capacities, have rendered the moſt important ſervices to their country, came by that knowledge which made them capable of it, I appeal to themſelves, whether any conſiderable ſhare of it was acquired till they had finiſhed their ſtudies at the univerſity. So remote is the general courſe of ſtudy at places of the moſt liberal education among us from the buſineſs of *civil life*, that many gentlemen, who have had the moſt liberal education their country could afford, have looked upon the real advantage of ſuch an education as very problematical, and have either wholly diſpenſed with it in their own children; or, if they have ſent their ſons through the uſual circle of the ſchools, it

has

has been chiefly through the influence of cuſtom and faſhion, or with a view to their forming connexions which might be uſeful to them in future life. This appears by the little ſolicitude they ſhow about their ſons being grounded in thoſe ſciences, in which they themſelves might poſſibly have been conſiderable proficients, when they applied to them; but which, from their being foreign to the buſineſs of life in which they were afterwards engaged, they have now wholly forgotten.

Indeed, the ſevere and proper diſcipline of a grammar-ſchool is become a common topic of ridicule; and few young gentlemen, except thoſe who are deſigned for ſome of the learned profeſſions, are made to ſubmit to the rigours of it. And it is manifeſt, that when no foundation is laid in a grammatical knowledge of the learned languages (which, in a large or public ſchool, cannot be done without very ſtrict diſcipline, and a ſevere application on the part both of the maſter and ſcholar) youth can be but ill qualified to receive any advantage from an univerſity education. Young gentlemen themſelves ſo frequently hear the learning which is taught in ſchools and univerſities ridiculed, that they often make themſelves eaſy with giving a very ſuperficial attention to it; concluding, from the turn of converſation in the company they generally fall into, and which they expect to keep, that a few years will confound all diſtinction of learned and unlearned, and make it impoſſible to be known whether a man had improved his time at the univerſity or not.

Theſe evils certainly call for redreſs; and let a perſon be reckoned a projector, a viſionary, or whatever any body pleaſes, that man is a friend of his country who obſerves, and endeavours to ſupply, any defects in the methods of educating youth. A well-meaning and a ſenſible man may be miſtaken, but a good intention, eſpecially if it be not wholly unaccompanied with good ſenſe, ought to be exempted from cenſure. What has occurred to me upon this ſubject I ſhall, without any farther apology, propoſe to my fellow-citizens, and fellow-tutors, hoping that it will meet with a candid reception. It is true, I can boaſt no long or extenſive experience in the buſineſs of education, but I have not been a mere ſpectator in this ſcene; which, I hope, may exempt me from the ridicule and contempt which have almoſt ever fallen upon the ſchemes of

thoſe

thoſe perſons who have written only from their cloſets, and, without any experience, have raſhly attempted to handle this ſubject, in which, of all others, experiments only ought to guide theory; upon which hardly any thing worth attending to can be advanced *a priori*; and where the greateſt geniuſes, for want of experience, have been the greateſt viſionaries; laying ſchemes the leaſt capable of being reduced to practice, or the moſt abſurd if they *had* been put in practice.

Let it be remembered, that the difficulty under preſent conſideration is, how to fill up with advantage thoſe years which immediately precede a young gentleman's engaging in thoſe higher ſpheres of active life in which he is deſtined to move. Within the departments of *active life*, I ſuppoſe to be comprehended all thoſe ſtations in which a man's conduct will conſiderably affect the liberty and the property of his countrymen, and the riches, the ſtrength, and the ſecurity of his country; the firſt and moſt important ranks of which are filled by gentlemen of large property, who have themſelves the greateſt intereſt in the fate of their country, and who are within the influence of an honourable ambition to appear in the character of magiſtrates and legiſlators in the ſtate, or of ſtanding near the helm of affairs, and guiding the ſecret ſprings of government.

The profeſſion of Law, alſo, certainly comes within the above deſcription of civil and active life, if a man hope to be any thing more than a practiſing attorney; the profeſſion of arms, too, if a gentleman have any expectation of arriving at the higher ranks of military preferment; and the buſineſs of merchandiſe, if we look beyond the ſervile drudgery of the warehouſe or counting-houſe. Divines and phyſicians I conſider to be intereſted in this ſubject, only as gentlemen and general ſcholars, or as perſons who converſe, and have influence, with gentlemen engaged in active life, without any particular view to their reſpective profeſſions.

That the parents and friends of young gentlemen deſtined to act in any of theſe important ſpheres, may not think a liberal education unneceſſary to them, and that the young gentlemen themſelves may enter

with ſpirit into the enlarged views of their friends and tutors; I would humbly propoſe ſome new articles of academical inſtruction, ſuch as have a nearer and more evident connexion with the buſineſs of active life, and which may therefore bid fairer to engage the attention, and rouſe the thinking powers, of young gentlemen of an active genius. The ſubjects I would recommend are CIVIL HISTORY, and more eſpecially, the important objects of CIVIL POLICY; ſuch as the theory of laws, government, manufactures, commerce, naval force, &c. with whatever may be demonſtrated from hiſtory to have contributed to the flouriſhing ſtate of nations, ~~to rendering a people happy~~ and populous at home, and formidable abroad; together with thoſe articles of previous information without which it is impoſſible to underſtand the nature, connexions, and mutual influences, of thoſe great objects.

To give a clearer idea of the ſubjects I would propoſe to the ſtudy of youth at places of public and liberal education, I have ſubjoined plans of three diſtinct courſes of lectures, which, I apprehend, may be ſubſervient to this deſign, divided into ſuch portions as, experience has taught me, may be conveniently diſcuſſed in familiar lectures of an hour each.

The firſt courſe is on the STUDY OF HISTORY in general, and in its moſt extenſive ſenſe. It will be ſeen to conſiſt of ſuch articles as tend to enable a young gentleman to read hiſtory with underſtanding, and to reap the moſt valuable fruits of that engaging ſtudy. I ſhall not go over the particulars of the courſe in this place: let the ſyllabus ſpeak for itſelf. Let it only be obſerved, that my view was, not merely to make hiſtory intelligible to perſons who may chuſe to read it for their amuſement; but principally, to facilitate its ſubſerviency to the higheſt uſes to which it can be applied; to contribute to its forming the able ſtateſman, and the intelligent and uſeful citizen. It is true, that this is comprizing a great deal more than the title of the courſe will ſuggeſt. But under the head of *objects of attention to a reader of hiſtory*, it was found convenient to diſcuſs the principal of thoſe ſubjects which every gentleman of a liberal education is expected to underſtand, though they do not generally fall under any diviſion of the ſciences in a courſe of

academical education: and yet, without a competent knowledge of theſe ſubjects, no perſon can be qualified to ſerve his country except in the loweſt capacities.

This courſe of lectures, it is alſo preſumed, will be found to contain a comprehenſive ſyſtem of that kind of knowledge which is peculiarly requiſite to gentlemen who intend to *travel*. For, ſince the great object of attention to a reader of hiſtory, and to a gentleman upon his travels, are evidently the ſame, it muſt be of equal ſervice to them both, to have their importance, and mutual influences, pointed out to them.

It will likewiſe be evident to any perſon who inſpects this ſyllabus, that the ſubject of COMMERCE has by no means been overlooked. And it is hoped, that when thoſe gentlemen, who are intended to ſerve themſelves and their country in the reſpectable character of merchants, have heard the great maxims of commerce diſcuſſed in a ſcientifical and connected manner, as they deſerve, they will not eaſily be influenced by notions adopted in a random and haſty manner, and from ſuperficial views of things; whereby they might, otherwiſe, be induced to enter into meaſures ſeemingly gainful at preſent, but in the end prejudicial to their country, and to themſelves and their poſterity, as members of it.

The next courſe of lectures, the plan of which is briefly delineated, is upon the HISTORY OF ENGLAND, and is deſigned to be an exemplification of the manner of ſtudying hiſtory recommended in the former courſe; in which the great uſes of it are ſhown, and the actual progreſs of every important object of attention diſtinctly marked, from the earlieſt accounts of the iſland to the preſent time.

To make young gentlemen ſtill more thoroughly acquainted with their own country, a third courſe of lectures (in connexion with the two others) is ſubjoined, viz. on its PRESENT CONSTITUTION AND LAWS. But the particular uſes of theſe two courſes of lectures need not be pointed out here, as they are ſufficiently explained in the introductory addreſſes prefixed to each of them.

That an acquaintance with the ſubjects of theſe lectures is calculated to form the ſtateſman, the military commander, the lawyer, the merchant, and the accompliſhed country gentleman, cannot be diſputed.

The principal objection that may be made to this ſcheme, is the introduction of theſe ſubjects into academies, and ſubmitting them to the examination of youth, of the age at which they are uſually ſent to ſuch places of education. It will be ſaid by ſome, that theſe ſubjects are too deep, and too intricate, for their tender age and weak intellects; and that, after all, it can be no more than a ſmattering of theſe great branches of knowledge that can be communicated to youth.

To prevent being miſunderſtood, let it be obſerved, that I would not propoſe that this courſe of ſtudies ſhould be entered upon by a young gentleman till he be ſixteen or ſeventeen years of age, or at leaſt, and only in ſome particular caſes, fifteen years; at which time of life, it is well known to all perſons concerned in the education of youth, that their faculties have attained a conſiderable degree of ripeneſs, and that, by proper addreſs, they are as capable of entering into any ſubject of ſpeculation as they ever will be. What is there in any of the ſubjects mentioned above, which requires more acuteneſs, or comprehenſion, than algebra, geometry, logic, or metaphyſics; to which ſtudents are generally made to apply about the ſame age?

And if it be only a ſmattering of political and commercial knowledge, &c. that can be acquired in the method I propoſe; let it be obſerved, that it is nothing more than the rudiments of any ſcience which can be taught in a place of education. The maſter of ſcience is a character of which nothing more than the outline is ever drawn at an Academy, or the Univerſity. It is never finiſhed but by aſſiduous and long-continued application afterwards. And ſuppoſing that only the firſt rudiments, the grand, plain, and leading maxims of policy, with reſpect to arts, arms, commerce, &c. be communicated to a young gentleman, if they be ſuch maxims as he is really deſtined to purſue in life, is it not better that he have ſome knowledge of them communicated early, and at a time when it is likely to make the deepeſt and moſt laſting impreſſion, than to be thrown into the practice without any regular theory at all? It is freely acknowledged, that the man of buſineſs is not to be finiſhed at an academy, any more than the man of ſcience. This character is not the child of inſtruction and theory only; but, on the other hand, neither

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is it the mere offspring of practice without inſtruction. And, certainly, if a knowledge of theſe ſubjects be of any uſe, the earlier they are attended to (after a perſon be capable of attending to them to any purpoſe) and the more regular is the method in which they are taught, the greater chance there is for their being thoroughly underſtood.

When ſubjects which have a connexion are explained in a regular ſyſtem, every article is placed where the moſt light is reflected upon it from the neighbouring ſubjects. The plaineſt things are diſcuſſed in the firſt place, and are made to ſerve as axioms, and as the foundation of thoſe which are treated of afterwards. Without this regular method of ſtudying the elements of any ſcience, it ſeems impoſſible ever to gain a clear and comprehenſive view of it. But after a regular inſtitution, any particular part of a plan of inſtruction may be enlarged at any time, with eaſe, and without confuſion. With how much more eaſe and diſtinctneſs would a perſon be able to deliver himſelf upon any ſubject of policy, or commerce, who had had every thing belonging to it explained to him in its proper connexion, than another perſon of equal abilities, who ſhould only have conſidered the ſubject in a random manner, reading any treatiſe that might happen to fall in his way, or adopting his maxims from the company he might accidentally keep, and, conſequently, liable to be impoſed upon by the intereſted views with which men very often both write and ſpeak. For theſe are ſubjects, on which almoſt every writer or ſpeaker is to be ſuſpected; ſo much has party and intereſt to do with every thing relating to them.

Since, however, theſe ſubjects do enter into all ſenſible converſation, eſpecially with gentlemen engaged in civil life, it is a circumſtance extremely favourable to the ſtudy of them, that converſation will come greatly in aid of the lectures the young gentlemen hear upon them. It cannot fail to rouſe their attention, and increaſe their application to their ſtudies, when they hear the ſubjects of them diſcuſſed by their fathers, and the elder part of their friends and acquaintance, for whoſe underſtanding and turn of thinking they have conceived a great eſteem. They will liſten with greater attention to grave and judicious perſons, and become much more fond of their company, when they are able to underſtand

underſtand their converſation, and to enter occaſionally into it; when they can ſay, that ſuch a ſentiment, or fact, was advanced in their lectures, and that one of their fellow-pupils, or themſelves, made ſuch a remark upon it. It is no wonder that many young gentlemen give but little attention to their preſent ſtudies, when they find that the ſubjects of them are never diſcuſſed in any ſenſible converſation, to which they are ever admitted. If ſtudying theſe ſubjects only ſerve to give the generality of young gentlemen a taſte for converſing upon them, and qualify them to appear to tolerable advantage in ſuch converſations, the variety of lights, in which they are viewed upon thoſe occaſions, cannot fail to make them more generally underſtood: and the better theſe ſubjects are underſtood by the bulk of the nation, the more probable it is that the nation will be benefited by ſuch knowledge.

If I were aſked what branches of knowledge a young gentleman ſhould, in my judgment, be maſter of, before he can ſtudy this courſe with advantage; I would anſwer, that a knowledge of the learned languages is not abſolutely neceſſary, but is very deſirable; eſpecially ſuch an inſight into Latin as may enable a perſon to read the eaſier claſſics, and ſuperſede the uſe of a dictionary, with reſpect to thoſe more difficult Engliſh words which are derived from the Latin. The ſtudent of this courſe ſhould underſtand French very well, he ſhould alſo be a pretty good accomptant, be acquainted with the more uſeful branches of practical mathematics; and, if poſſible, have ſome knowledge of algebra and geometry, which ought to be indiſpenſable in every plan of liberal education.

Some will be ready to object to theſe ſtudies, that a turn for ſpeculation unfits men for buſineſs. I anſwer, that nothing is more true, if thoſe ſpeculations be foreign to their employment. It is readily acknowledged, that a turn for poetry and the Belles Lettres might hurt a tradeſman, that the ſtudy of natural philoſophy might interfere with the practice of the law, and metaphyſics and the abſtract ſciences with the duty of a ſoldier. But it can never be ſaid that a counſellor can be unfitted for his practice by a taſte for the ſtudy of the law; or that a commander would be the worſe ſoldier for ſtudying books written on the art of war:

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nor can it be ſuppoſed that a merchant would do leſs buſineſs, or to worſe purpoſe, for having acquired a fondneſs for ſuch writers who have beſt explained the principles of trade and commerce, and for being qualified to read them with underſtanding and judgment.

It muſt be allowed, that the mechanical parts of any employment will be beſt performed by perſons who have no knowledge, or idea, of any thing beyond the mere practice. When a man's faculties are wholly employed upon one ſingle thing, it is more probable that he will make himſelf compleatly maſter of it; and, having no farther or higher views, he will more contentedly, and more chearfully, give his whole time to his proper object. But no man who can afford the expence of a liberal education, enters upon any buſineſs with a view to ſpend his whole life in the mere mechanical part of it, and in performing a taſk impoſed on him. A man of ſpirit will laudably aſpire to be a maſter in his turn; when he muſt be directed by his own lights, and when he will find himſelf miſerably bewildered, if he have acquired no more knowledge than was ſufficient for him while be followed the direction of others. Beſides, in the caſe of merchandiſe, if one branch fail, there is no reſource but in more extenſive knowledge. A man who has been uſed to go only in one beaten track, and who has had no idea given him of any other, for fear of his being tempted to leave it, will be wholly at a loſs when it happens that that track can be no longer uſed; while a perſon who has a general idea of the whole courſe of the country may be able to ſtrike out another, and perhaps a better road than the former.

I am aware of a different kind of objection, from another quarter, which it behoves me not to over-look. The advocates for the old plan of education, and who diſlike innovations in the number, or the diſtribution, of the ſciences in which lectures are given, may object to the admiſſion of theſe ſtudies, as in danger of attracting the attention of thoſe ſtudents who are deſigned for the learned profeſſions; and thereby interfering too much with that which has been found, by the experience of generations, to be the beſt for ſcholars, the proper ſubjects of which are ſufficient to fill up all their time, without theſe ſupernumerary

pernumerary articles. I anſwer, that the ſubjects of theſe lectures are by no means neceſſary articles of a mere ſcholaſtic education; but that they are ſuch as ſcholars ought to have ſome acquaintance with; and that without ſome acquaintance with them, they muſt, upon many occaſions, appear to great diſadvantage in the preſent ſtate of knowledge.

Time was when ſcholars might, with a good grace, diſclaim all pretenſions to any branch of knowledge but what was taught in the univerſities. Perhaps they would be the more revered by the vulgar on account of ſuch ignorance, as an argument of their being more abſtracted from the world. Few books were written but by critics and antiquaries, for the uſe of men like themſelves. The literati of thoſe days had comparatively little free intercourſe but among themſelves; the learned world, and the common world, being much more diſtinct from one another than they are now. Scholars by profeſſion read, wrote, and converſed in no language but the Roman. They would have been aſhamed to have expreſſed themſelves in bad Latin, but not in the leaſt of being guilty of any impropriety in the uſe of their mother tongue, which they conſidered as belonging only to the vulgar.

But thoſe times of revived antiquity have had their uſe, and are now no more. We are obliged to the learned labours of our forefathers for ſearching into all the remains of antiquity, and illuſtrating valuable ancient authors; but their maxims of life will not ſuit the world as it is at preſent. The politeneſs of the times has brought the learned and the unlearned into more familiar intercourſe than they had before. They find themſelves obliged to converſe upon the ſame topics. The ſubjects of modern hiſtory, policy, arts, manufactures, commerce, &c. are the general topics of all ſenſible converſation. Every thing is ſaid in our own tongue, little is even written in a foreign or dead language; and every Britiſh author is ſtudious of writing with propriety in his native Engliſh. Criticiſm, which was formerly the great buſineſs of a ſcholar's life, is now become the amuſement of a leaſure hour, and this but to a few; ſo that a hundredth part of the time which was formerly given to criticiſm and antiquities is enough, in this age, to gain a man the character of a profound ſcholar. The topics of ſenſible converſation

converſation are likewiſe the favourite ſubjects of all the capital writings of the preſent age, which are read with equal avidity by gentlemen, merchants, lawyers, phyſicians, and divines.

Now, when the courſe of reading, thinking, and converſation, even among ſcholars, is become ſo very different from what it was, is it not reaſonable that the plan of even ſcholaſtic education ſhould, in ſome meaſure, vary with it? The neceſſity of the thing has already, in many inſtances, forced a change; and the ſame increaſing neceſſity will either force a greater and more general change, or we muſt not be ſurpriſed to find our ſchools, academies, and univerſities, deſerted, as wholly unfit to qualify men to appear with advantage in the preſent age.

In many private ſchools and academies, we find ſeveral things taught now, which were never made the ſubjects of ſyſtematical inſtruction in former times; and in thoſe of our univerſities, in which it is the intereſt of the tutors to make their lectures of real uſe to their pupils, and where lectures are not mere matters of form; the profeſſors find the neceſſity of delivering themſelves in Engliſh. And the evident propriety of the thing muſt neceſſarily make this practice more general, notwithſtanding the moſt ſuperſtitious regard to eſtabliſhed cuſtoms.

But let the profeſſors conduct themſelves by what maxims they pleaſe, the ſtudents will, of courſe, be influenced by the taſte of the company they keep in the world at large, to which young gentlemen in this age have an earlier admiſſion than they had formerly. How can it be expected that the preſent ſet of ſtudents for divinity ſhould apply to the ſtudy of the dead languages with the aſſiduity of their fathers and grandfathers, when they find ſo many of the uſes of thoſe languages no longer ſubſiſting? What can they think it will avail them to make the purity of the Latin ſtyle their principal ſtudy, for ſeveral years of the moſt improveable part of their life, when they are ſenſible, that they ſhall have little more occaſion for it than other gentlemen, or than perſons in common life, when they have left the univerſity? And how can it be otherwiſe, but that their private reading and ſtudies ſhould ſometimes be different from the courſe of their public inſtructions,

when the favourite authors of the public, the merits of whom they hear diſcuſſed in every company, even by their tutors themſelves, write upon quite different ſubjects?

In ſuch a ſtate of things, the advantage of a regular ſyſtematical inſtruction in thoſe ſubjects, which are treated of in books that in fact engage the attention of all the world, the learned leaſt of all excepted, and which enter into all converſations, where it is worth a man's while to bear a part, or to make a figure, cannot be doubted. And I am of opinion, that theſe ſtudies may be conducted in ſuch a manner, as will interfere very little with a ſufficiently cloſe application to others. Students in medicine and divinity may be admitted to theſe ſtudies later than thoſe for whoſe real uſe in life they are principally intended; not till they be ſufficiently grounded in the claſſics, have ſtudied logic, oratory, and criticiſm, or any thing elſe that may be deemed uſeful, previous to thoſe ſtudies which are peculiar to their reſpective profeſſions; and even then, theſe new ſtudies may be made a matter of amuſement, rather than an article of buſineſs.

With reſpect to Divines, it ought moreover to be conſidered, that the ſame revolutions in the ſtate of knowledge, which call their attention to theſe new ſtudies have, in a great meaſure, furniſhed them with *time* for their application to them; by releaſing them from ſeveral ſubjects, the ſtudy of which was formerly the great buſineſs of divines, and engroſſed almoſt their whole time. And though new ſubjects have been ſtarted within the province of divinity, it does not appear to me, that they require ſo much time and application as was uſually given to thoſe other ſtudies, the uſe of which is now ſuperſeded. I mean, principally, ſchool-divinity, and the canon law; not to mention logic and metaphyſics, which were formerly a more intricate buſineſs, and took up much more time, than they do now.

Let a perſon but look over the table of contents to the works of Thomas Aquinas, which were read, ſtudied, or commented upon, by all divines a few centuries ago, and he will be convinced, that it muſt have required both more acuteneſs to comprehend the ſubjects of them,

and more time to ſtudy and digeſt them in any tolerable manner, than it would require to become exceedingly well verſed in all the branches of knowledge I would now recommend.

The canon law was not leſs complex than both the common and ſtatute law of England, and every clergyman of eminence was under a neceſſity of underſtanding, not only the general principles and theory of that ſyſtem, but even the minutiæ of the practice. Good ſenſe, and a free acceſs to the ſcriptures, have at length (aſſiſted, perhaps, by an averſion to abſtract ſpeculations) thrown down the whole fabric of ſchool-divinity, and the riſe of the civil above the eccleſiaſtical power in this realm has reduced the theory and practice of the Engliſh canon law within very narrow bounds. And as to the little that now remains in uſe, very few clergymen need trouble themſelves about it.

It is acknowledged, that the attention of ſtudents in theology, and other learned profeſſions, is much engaged by mathematical and philoſophical ſtudies which have been much cultivated of late years. I rejoice in ſo valuable an acceſſion to human ſcience, and would be far from ſhortening the time that is given to them in places of liberal education. I rather wiſh there were more room for thoſe ſtudies in ſuch places, and better proviſion for teaching them. But, notwithſtanding this, there is room enough for a ſmall portion of time and attention to be given to the ſubjects I would here recommend; and it is not much of either that I would plead for, in the caſe of gentlemen intended for the learned profeſſions.

The method in which thoſe lectures may be taught to the moſt advantage, I apprehend to be the following; and experience has in ſome meaſure formed my judgment in this caſe.

Let the lecturer have a pretty full text before him, digeſted with care, containing not only a method of diſcourſing upon the ſubjects, but alſo all the principal *arguments* he adduces, and all the leading *facts* he makes uſe of to ſupport his hypotheſes. Let this text be the ſubject of a regular, but familiar diſcourſe, not exceeding an hour at a time; with a claſs not exceeding twenty, or thirty. Let the lecturer give his pupils all encouragement to enter occaſionally into the converſation, by pro-

poſing queries, or making any objections, or remarks, that may occur to them. Let all the ſtudents have an opportunity of peruſing this text, if not of copying it, in the intervals between the lectures, and let near half of the time for lecturing be ſpent in receiving from the ſtudents a minute account of the particulars of the preceding lecture, and in explaining any difficulties they might have met with in it; in order that no ſubject be quitted, till the tutor be morally certain that his pupils thoroughly underſtand it.

Upon every ſubject of importance, let the tutor make references to the principal authors who have treated of it, and if the ſubject be a controverted one, let him refer to books written on both ſides of the queſtion. Of theſe references, let the tutor occaſionally require an account, and ſometimes a written abſtract. Laſtly, let the tutor ſelect a proper number of the moſt important queſtions that can ariſe from the ſubject of the lectures, and let them be propoſed to the ſtudents as exerciſes, to be treated in the form of orations, theſes, or diſſertations, as he ſhall think fit. Moreover, if he judge it convenient, let him appoint rewards to thoſe who ſhall handle the ſubject in the moſt judicious manner.

Young gentlemen deſigned for the learned profeſſions need not be put upon theſe exerciſes, or reading all the authors referred to. It may be ſufficient for them to attend the lectures as they are delivered. And as I would not adviſe that the lectures be given with ſhorter intervals between them than three days, they cannot interfere much with their application to their proper ſtudies.

I think I could aſſign very ſatisfactory reaſons for each of the directions I have laid down above, but I flatter myſelf they will ſuggeſt themſelves; if not upon the bare peruſal, at leaſt upon any attempt to reduce them to practice. I ſhall only take notice of an objection that may be made to one particular article in this method.

Some may object to the encouragement I would give the ſtudents to propoſe objections at the time of lecturing. This cuſtom, they may ſay, will tend to interrupt the courſe of the lecture, and promote a ſpirit of impertinence and conceit in young perſons. I anſwer, that every inconvenience

inconvenience of this kind may be obviated by the *manner* in which a tutor delivers himſelf in lecturing. A proper mixture of dignity and freedom (which are ſo far from being incompatible, that they mutually ſet off one another) will prevent, or repreſs, all impertinent and unſeaſonable remarks, at the ſame time that it will encourage thoſe which are modeſt and pertinent.

But ſuppoſe a lecturer ſhould not be able immediately to give a ſatisfactory anſwer to an objection that might be ſtarted by a ſenſible ſtudent. He muſt be conſcious of his having made very ridiculous pretenſions, and having given himſelf improper airs, if it give him any pain to tell his claſs, that he will reconſider a ſubject; or even to acknowledge himſelf miſtaken. It depends wholly upon a tutor's general diſpoſition, and his uſual manner of addreſs, whether he loſe, or gain, ground in the eſteem of his pupils by ſuch a declaration. Every tutor ought to have conſidered the ſubjects on which he gives lectures with attention; but no man can be expected to be infallible. For my own part, I would not forego the pleaſure, and advantage, which accrue, both to my pupils and to myſelf, from this method, together with the opportunity it gives me of improving my lectures, by means of the many uſeful hints which are often ſtarted in this familiar way of diſcourſing upon a ſubject, for any inconvenience I have yet found to attend it, or that I can imagine may poſſibly attend it.

I cannot help flattering myſelf, that were the ſtudies I have here recommended generally introduced, into places of liberal education, the conſequence might be happy for this country in ſome future period. Many of the political evils, under which this, and every country in the world, labours, are not owing to any want of a love for our country, but to an ignorance of its real conſtitution and intereſts. Beſides, the very circumſtance of giving that attention which I would recommend to its conſtitution and intereſts, would unavoidably beget a love and affection for them; and might, perhaps, contribute more to produce, propagate, and enflame, a ſpirit of patriotiſm than any other circumſtance. And certainly, if there be the moſt diſtant proſpect of this valuable end being gained by an application to theſe ſtudies, it cannot fail to recommend

mend them to every true lover of his country, in an age in which the minds of ſo many are blinded, and miſled, by a ſpirit of faction; and, what is more alarming, when a taſte for luxury and expence is ſo high, that there is reaſon to fear it may, in many caſes, be ſuperior to all other regards; and when, in many breaſts, it already apparently threatens the utter extinction of a ſpirit of patriotiſm.

What was it that made the Greeks, the Romans in early ages, and other nations of antiquity, ſuch obſtinate patriots, that they had even no idea of any obligation ſuperior to a regard for their country, but that the conſtant wars they were obliged to maintain with the neighbouring nations kept the idea of their country perpetually in view, and always oppoſed to that of other nations? It is the ſame circumſtance that gives our common ſoldiers and ſeamen more of the genuine ſpirit of patriotiſm than is felt by any other order of men in the community, notwithſtanding they have the leaſt intereſt in it. Now the courſe of inſtruction I would introduce, would bring the idea of our country more early into the minds of Britiſh youth, and habituate them to a conſtant and cloſe attention to it. And why ſhould not the practice of thinking, reading, converſing, and writing about the intereſt of our country, anſwer the ſame purpoſe with the moderns, that fighting for it did among the ancients?

It is a circumſtance of particular conſequence, that this enthuſiaſtic love for our country would by this means be imbibed by perſons of fortune, rank, and influence, in whom it might be effectual to the moſt important purpoſes; who might have it in their power, not only to wiſh well to their country, but to render it the greateſt real ſervices. Such men would not only, as is the caſe with private ſoldiers or ſeamen, be able to employ the force of a ſingle arm in its defence, but might animate the hearts, and engage the hands, of thouſands in its cauſe. Of what unſpeakable advantage might be one miniſter of ſtate, one military commander, or even a ſingle member of parliament, who thoroughly underſtood the intereſts of his country, and who poſtponed every other intereſt and conſideration to it!

This

This is not teaching politics to low mechanics and manufacturers, or encouraging the ſtudy of it among perſons with whom it could be of no ſervice to their country, and often a real detriment to themſelves; though we may ſee in thoſe perſons, how poſſible it is for the public paſſions to ſwallow up all the private ones, when the objects of them are kept frequently in view, and are much dwelt upon in the mind. The ſame zeal that is the ſubject of ridicule in perſons of no weight or influence in the ſtate, would be moſt glorious and happy for their country in a more advantageous ſituation.

Some may perhaps object to theſe ſtudies, as giving too much encouragement to that turn for politics, which they may think is already immoderate in the lower and middle ranks of men among us. But muſt not political knowledge be communicated to thoſe to whom it might be of real uſe, becauſe a fondneſs for the ſtudy might extend beyond its proper bounds, and be catched by ſome perſons who had better remain ignorant of it? Beſides, it ought to be conſidered, that how ridiculous ſo ever ſome may make themſelves by pretenſions to politics, a true friend of liberty will be cautious how he diſcourages a fondneſs for that kind of knowledge, which has ever been the favourite ſubject of writing and converſation in all free ſtates. Only tyrants, and the friends of arbitrary power, have ever taken umbrage at a turn for political knowledge, and political diſcourſes, among even the loweſt of the people. Men will ſtudy, and converſe about what they are intereſted in, eſpecially if they have any influence; and though the aſs in the fable was in no concern who was his maſter, ſince he could but carry his uſual load; and though the ſubjects of a deſpotic monarch need not trouble themſelves about political diſputes and intrigues, which never terminate in a change of meaſures, but only of men; yet, in a free country, where even private perſons have much at ſtake, every man is nearly intereſted in the conduct of his ſuperiors, and cannot be an unconcerned ſpectator of what is tranſacted by them. With reſpect to influence, the ſentiments of the loweſt vulgar in England are not wholly inſignificant, and a wiſe miniſter will ever pay ſome attention to them.

It

It is our wiſdom, therefore, to provide that all perſons who have any influence in political meaſures be well inſtructed in the great and leading principles of wiſe policy. This is certainly an object of the greateſt importance. Inconveniences ever attend a general application to any kind of knowledge, and no doubt will attend this. But they are inconveniences which a friend to liberty need be under no apprehenſions about.

I may poſſibly promiſe myſelf too much, from the general introduction of the ſtudies I have recommended in this Eſſay into places of liberal education; but a little enthuſiaſm is always excuſeable in perſons who propoſe and recommend uſeful innovations. I have endeavoured to repreſent the ſtate of education in this view as clearly and as fully as I have been able; and I deſire my propoſals for emendations to have no more weight than the faireſt repreſentation will give them, in the minds of the cool and the unbiaſſed.

ERRATA.

N. B. *(b)* ſignifies *from the bottom of the page.*

Page 6. l. 14. for *thoſe*, read *and thoſe.*
—— 9. l. 15. *(b)* for *procuring*, read *promoting.*
—— 34. l. 15. *(b)* for *in*, read *and in.*
—— 50. l. 10. for *bows*, read *boughs.*
—— 61. l. 6. *(b)* after *mentioned*, add *excepting this of coats of arms.*
—— 74. l. 9. for *them*, read *the Romans.*
—— 75. l. 15. dele *owing to.*
—— 77. l. 14. *(b)* for *nations*, read *notions.*
—— 85. l. 10. *(b)* after *family*, add *and, according to Thucydides, the ſiege of Troy was about eighty years before the return of the Heraclidæ.*
—— 93. l. 9. for *ſhe*, read *the moon.*
—— 115. l. 6. *(b)* for *two*, read *ſeven.*
—— 118. l. 15. for *what*, read *or what.*
—— 128. l. 10. *(b)* for *corn*, read *flour.*
—— 166. l. 11. for *young*, read *younger.*
—— 186. l. 12. dele *like.*
—— 206. l. 4. *(b)* for *affairs but*, read *tongue and.*
—— 214. l. laſt. for *Boyle*, read *Bayle.*
—— 215. l. 10. for *Wood's Inſtitute*, read *Blackſtone's Commentaries.*
—— 224 l. 11. *(b)* for *characters*, read *charters.*
—— 226. l. 9. for *of reſtitution*, read *reſtitutions.*
Page 265. l. 3. *(b)* dele *owing to.*
—— 266. l. 14. dele *by.*
—— 299. l. 13. for *numbers*, read *members.*
—— 304. l. 16. for *to*, read *in.*
—— 329. l. 6. for *tything*, read *trything.*
—— 406. l. laſt. dele *they can.*
—— 430. l. 12. read *their original inſtitutions.*
—— 450. l. 3. for *they*, read *diſſenters.*
—— 462. l. 13. for *not for*, read *not the.*
—— 467. l. 12. *(b)* *Juſtiman*, read *Juſtinian.*
—— 472. l. 2 dele *of*
—— ---- l. 15. for *inland*, read *iſland.*
—— 492. l. 13. *(b)* dele *and particularly the deſperate reſolution of attacking them at home.*
—— 499. l. 14. for *they*, read *laws of war.*
—— 501. l. 9. *(b)* for *richneſs*, read *riches.*
—— 507. l. 3. *(b)* for *they would do*, read *would be.*
—— 514. l. 4. for *and*, read *or.*
—— 521. l. 15. *(b)* for *that the*, read *that of the.*
—— 525. l. 8. for *under the*, read *the under.*
—— 526. l. 9. for *that upon*, read *as far as.*
—— 528. l. 4 and 6. for *former*, read *latter*, and *vice verſa.*
----- 546. l. 11. *(b)* for *that*, read *the French.*

N. B. A few Errata in ſome well known proper names, and other ſmall inaccuracies, I leave to the candour of my readers.

LECTURE I.

Why Hiſtory is ſo generally pleaſing and intereſting. Hiſtory ſerves to amuſe the Imagination, and intereſt the Paſſions. Advantage of Hiſtory above Fiction. It improves the Underſtanding, and fits Men for the Buſineſs of Life. Some Advantages of Hiſtory above Experience. Peculiarly uſeful to Princes. Facts eſſential to all Knowledge. Political Knowledge uſeful in every Station of Life. Hiſtory frees the Mind from many Prejudices, and particularly national Prejudices. The Uſe of Hiſtory to the Ladies. All Improvement in the Science of Government derived from Hiſtory.

THE INTRODUCTION.

THE ſtudy of Hiſtory is more or leſs the employment of all perſons of reading and education. This was, indeed, the earlieſt uſe that was made of letters. For the moſt ancient poems were almoſt entirely hiſtorical; and verſe was firſt cultivated in preference to proſe (which ſeems to be the moſt natural vehicle of hiſtory) as the beſt, becauſe the moſt ſecure, method of tranſmitting to poſterity the knowledge of paſt events. In all ages the writing of hiſtory has employed the ableſt men of all nations; and to this

day hardly any writer enjoys a greater, a more extenſive, and what will probably be a more laſting reputation, than a good hiſtorian.

The infinite variety there is in the ſubjects of hiſtory, makes it inviting to perſons of every diſpoſition. It may be either trifling, or ſerious. It ſupplies materials with equal eaſe, and equal copioúſneſs, for the ſallies of mirth, and the graveſt diſquiſitions of philoſophy. As every thing comes under the denomination of *hiſtory*, which informs us of any *fact* which is too remote in time, or place, to be the ſubject of our perſonal knowledge; it is calculated for the uſe of perſons of both ſexes, and of men of all ranks and of all profeſſions in life. Becauſe it cannot be preſumed that a perſon of any profeſſion, or in any ſituation, can, of himſelf, come at the knowledge of every fact which it is for his advantage to be acquainted with.

Hiſtory is ſo connected with, and eſſential to, all kinds of knowledge, that the moſt ſuperficial eſſay upon any ſubject whatever, is hardly tolerable, unleſs ſome kind of hiſtorical facts be introduced, or alluded to in it. The neceſſity of facts to moral writers, or thoſe who write upon the theory of human nature, I need not mention. And certainly no perſon can be a good divine, much leſs undertake any part of the controverſy with unbelievers unleſs he be very well acquainted with hiſtory, civil as well as eccleſiaſtical. Indeed, more than half of the books of ſcripture conſiſt of hiſtory. And as all the prophecies of the Old and New Teſtament muſt be verified by hiſtory, none but a good hiſtorian can be a judicious commentator upon ſuch important parts of the ſacred writings.

Beſides, an acquaintance with hiſtory is agreeable to us as ſociable and converſable creatures; ſince it may be conſidered as a means of extending the power of converſation, and making the

the dead of the party equally with the living. Nay, as things are circumſtanced, the dead contribute more largely to gratify our natural and eager curioſity to be informed of paſt and remote tranſactions.

In this field of hiſtory, therefore, which is open to every man of letters, and in which every man of taſte and curioſity cannot fail to paſs a great part of his leiſure hours, it cannot but be deſirable to have a guide (at leaſt upon a perſon's firſt introduction into it) leſt he ſhould loſe himſelf in the boundleſs variety it affords, and not be able to find thoſe convenient eminences from which he will have the moſt eaſy and agreeable view of the objects it contains. In the character of this guide, Gentlemen, I now offer you my beſt aſſiſtance.

The courſe of lectures we are now entering upon is intended to facilitate the ſtudy of hiſtory, both by directing you to the eaſieſt methods of *acquiring* and *retaining* the knowledge of it, and making the proper *uſe* of it when you are poſſeſſed of it.

That the obſervations I have collected for this purpoſe may be the moſt intelligible and uſeful, I ſhall diſpoſe of them in the following method; conſidering,

I. The general uſes of hiſtory.

II. The ſources of hiſtory.

III. What is neceſſary, or uſeful, to be known previous to the ſtudy of hiſtory.

IV. Directions for the more eaſy acquiring and retaining a knowledge of hiſtory.

V. Proper objects of attention to an hiſtorian. And under this head I ſhall conſider the ſeveral ſubjects of *general policy*, or the circumſtances that chiefly contribute to render civil

ſocieties ſecure, numerous, and happy, as being the moſt important of all objects of attention to readers of hiſtory.

VI. In the laſt place I would give you a general view of hiſtory civil and eccleſiaſtical, but ſhall content myſelf with referring to Holberg, or ſome other epitome of general hiſtory.

PART I.

ACCORDING to the method above laid down, I am firſt to conſider the general *uſes* of hiſtory. Theſe may be exhibited under three heads. 1. Hiſtory ſerves to amuſe the imagination, and intereſt the paſſions in general. 2. It improves the underſtanding. And 3. It tends to ſtrengthen the ſentiments of virtue.

The firſt and loweſt uſe of hiſtory, is that it agreeably amuſes the imagination, and intereſts the paſſions. With theſe charms hiſtory captivates the generality of readers; and though I ſhall chiefly recommend it in another and an higher view, I think this is an advantage of hiſtory which is by no means inconſiderable, and by which a reader of the ſevereſt philoſophy, need not be aſhamed to acknowledge himſelf influenced. To amuſe the imagination, and give play to the paſſions in general, is almoſt the only and avowed ſcope of all works of *fiction*, both in proſe and verſe; and men of great genius and abilities are not thought to have thrown away their time to no purpoſe upon them. Whatever *exerciſes*, does likewiſe *improve*, and invigorate our faculties,

faculties, and diſpoſe them for the more free and perfect diſcharge of their proper functions. Admitting, therefore, that the hiſtories of Alexander the Great, of Charles XII. of Sweden, or the conqueſt of Mexico, be read with no other view than the adventures of Telemachus, of Amadis de Gaul, or the conqueſt of Jeruſalem; or that the voyages of Dampier, Sir Francis Drake, and Captain Cooke, be put upon the ſame footing with thoſe of Gulliver, I would not ſay the time ſpent in reading them was wholly loſt. Whatever valuable impreſſions are made upon the mind by fictitious adventures, the ſame, in kind, though perhaps, generally, not equal in degree, are made by real adventures; and *facts* with whatever view, and in whatever manner, treaſured up in the mind, are ready to be applied to any farther and higher uſes that they are capable of, whenever the perſon who is poſſeſſed of them is diſpoſed to view them in any other light.

In this view all true hiſtory has a capital advantage over every work of fiction. Works of fiction are not, in their nature, capable, in general, of any other uſes than the authors of them had in view, which muſt neceſſarily be very limited; whereas true hiſtory, being an exhibition of the conduct of divine Providence; in which every thing has, perhaps, infinite relations and uſes, is an inexhauſtible mine of the moſt valuable knowledge. Works of fiction reſemble thoſe machines which we contrive to illuſtrate the principles of philoſophy, ſuch as globes, and orreries, the uſes of which extend no farther than the views of human ingenuity; whereas real hiſtory reſembles the experiments made by the air pump, the condenſing engine, or electrical machine, which exhibit the operations of nature, and the God of nature himſelf, whoſe works are the nobleſt ſubject of contemplation to the human mind, and are the ground work and materials of the moſt extenſive and uſeful theories.

But, independent of any farther uſe, we have many well written hiſtories, which, I think, are calculated to give as much pure entertainment, eſpecially to a perſon of a reaſonable age and experience, as the generality of novels and romances. Let a perſon of taſte, and juſt ſentiment, read the hiſtory of the life of Cicero written by Middleton, the conqueſt of Mexico, or the voyage of Commodore Anſon, or even ſuch larger works as the hiſtory of Herodotus, Thucydides, Livy, Philip de Commines, &c. and then judge. If the amazing and intereſting ſcenes of fiction be worked up with more art, be more happily diſpoſed to excite and intereſt the paſſions, and be more agreeably diverſified with proper epiſodes, the very thought that it is *fiction* (the influence of which grows with our years) makes that artful diſpoſition, thoſe embelliſhments, neceſſary; whereas the mere thought that we are liſtening to the voice of *truth* is able to keep the attention awake through many a dry and ill digeſted narrative of *facts*.

The next, and higher uſe of hiſtory is to improve the underſtanding, and ſtrengthen the judgment, and thereby fit us for entering upon life with advantage. "By ſtudying hiſtory," as Lord Bolingbroke well obſerves, "and examining all kinds of "cauſes and effects, a man may ſharpen his penetration, fix the "attention of his mind, and ſtrengthen his judgment. Thus "he acquires a faculty and habit of diſcerning quicker, and "learns how to exert that flexibility and ſteadineſs, which are "neceſſary to be joined in the conduct of all affairs that depend "on the concurrence, or oppoſition, of other men." Judgment, as well as our other powers, muſt improve by exerciſe. Now hiſtory preſents us with the ſame objects which we meet with in the buſineſs of life. They muſt conſequently excite the ſame kind of reflections, and give the ſame exerciſe to our thoughts, and thus produce the ſame turn of mind. Hiſtory, therefore,

may

may be called anticipated experience. By this means we begin our acquaintance with mankind ſooner, and bring into the world, and the buſineſs of it, ſuch a caſt of thought, and temper of mind, as is acquired by paſſing through it; which will make us appear to more advantage in it, and not ſuch mere novices, upon our introduction into it, as we ſhould otherwiſe be. As Lord Bolingbroke again obſerves, "He, who ſtudies hiſtory as he "would philoſophy, will diſtinguiſh and collect certain general "principles, and rules of life and conduct, which always muſt "be true; becauſe they are conformable to the invariable na- "ture of things; and by doing ſo he will ſoon form to himſelf "a general ſyſtem of ethicks and politicks on the ſureſt foun- "dations, on the trial of theſe principles and rules in all ages, "and on the confirmation of them by univerſal experience."

The impreſſions which this anticipated knowledge of the world makes upon us, it is certain, will not be ſo deep as thoſe which are the reſult of our own perſonal acquaintance with it; and our judgment of things, and maxims of conduct, formed in this manner, will not be ſo firmly riveted in our minds. But then they will have the advantage of being more correct, and of being a better guide to us, than any thing we could have learned from our own random experience, upon our entering the world. The reaſon is, that the examples which hiſtory preſents to us are generally *complete*. The whole is before us. We ſee men and things at their full length, as we may ſay; and we likewiſe generally ſee them through a medium which is leſs partial than that of experience. Whereas in real life every ſcene opens very ſlowly, we ſee therefore but a very ſmall part of a thing at one time; and are conſequently liable to be deceived into a very fallacious judgment of it; particularly conſidering how diſtorted even thoſe imperfect views of things are by the re-

lation

lation of every thing to *ſelf*, which it is impoſſible to keep out of ſight in things in which we ourſelves are concerned.

In this view, hiſtory is generally the only faithful inſtructor of princes, particularly abſolute princes. It is ſo much the intereſt of abler men than themſelves to impoſe upon them, and to ſwell their ideas of their own importance, that, without the aid of hiſtory, it is almoſt impoſſible they ſhould ever form any juſt notion of men, or things, at all. But in hiſtory princes may ſee their predeceſſors treated without flattery or ceremony; and therefore, by the help of common ſenſe they may ſee, as in a glaſs, in what light their own characters and conduct will appear to poſterity. Nay, they may depend upon it, that ſome hiſtorians will rate them as much too low, as their cotemporaries have rated them too high. Of what avail have been the fulſome flatteries of Velleius Paterculus to the character of Tiberius, or his favourite Sejanus; or even the refined praiſes of Virgil and Horace to the character of Auguſtus himſelf? Poſterity at length ſees their real characters, through all their artful diſguiſes, and only thinks the worſe of men for laying perſons of wit and ingenuity under a neceſſity of acting a part ſo unworthy of themſelves. All future kings of France may ſee many very free cenſures upon the character and conduct of their predeceſſor Louis XIV. written by Voltaire, notwithſtanding the writer cannot conceal his partiality for his hero and his nation.

But, indeed, to men in all ſtations inſtructions for their own conduct may be conveyed, in the cleareſt and moſt cogent manner, through the example of others. Suetonius relates that Auguſtus uſed to tranſcribe inſtructive paſſages of hiſtorians, and ſend them to thoſe of his officers who had need of admonition.

We

We may eaſily be ſenſible of the importance of hiſtory to the advancement of knowledge in general, as well as of political knowledge in particular, if we conſider that the moſt exalted underſtanding is nothing more than a power of drawing concluſions, and forming maxims of conduct, from known *facts* and *experiments*, of which neceſſary *materials of knowledge* the mind itſelf is wholly barren. How then can knowledge be gained without experience? And very ſcanty and dear bought, would be the wiſdom that was the reſult of the experience of one man, or of one age only. How ſlow then muſt have been the progreſs that mankind would have made in wiſdom, and improvements of all kinds, before, by ſome means or other, one age could be made acquainted with the obſervations of their anceſtors.

It was requiſite, therefore, in order to the improvement of human kind, and of human conduct, and to give mankind clear and comprehenſive views of their intereſt, together with the means of procuring it, that the experience of ſome ages ſhould be collected and compared, that diſtant events ſhould be brought together; and ſo the firſt riſe, entire progreſs, and final concluſion, of ſchemes, tranſactions, and characters ſhould be ſeen, as it were, in one unbroken view, with all their connexions and relations. Without this, no adequate judgment could be formed of them, ſuch as would enable an intelligent perſon to determine how far the ſame, or the like, undertakings would bear to be repeated, or amended. Without theſe advantages, therefore, the improvements of human life, notwithſtanding the greateſt perfection and extent of our intellectual powers, would be at a ſtand. There might be conjecture, and enterprize, but there could be no certainty, or rational expectation of ſucceſs.

Conſequently, without hiſtory, the advantages of our rational nature muſt have been rated very low; and the more complete,

the more exact, and comprehenſive is our furniture of hiſtorical facts, the more materials of knowledge, and conſequently of *power*, and *happineſs*, are we poſſeſſed of. For Lord Bacon has juſtly remarked, that "knowledge is power;" and certainly all the excellence of human nature, all the advantage we have above the brutes, is derived from the uſe of our intellectual powers. Since, with reſpect to the powers of body, and an inſtinctive capacity of defending and providing for themſelves, they have greatly the advantage of us.

Political knowledge, it will be ſaid, is uſeful only to politicians, and miniſters of ſtate. But beſides that it is a matter of reaſonable curioſity, to examine into the ſprings of the great wheel of government, on the juſt balance, and regular motions, of which our temporal ſecurity and happineſs depend; and though political affairs be almoſt wholly, but not entirely, out of the ſphere of private perſons under an *arbitrary* government; yet in *free* governments, as it is admirably ſaid by Lord Bolingbroke, "the public ſervice is not confined to thoſe "whom the prince appoints to the ſeveral poſts in the adminiſ-"tration under him. Men of all degrees ought to inſtruct "themſelves in thoſe affairs wherein they may be actors them-"ſelves, or judges of thoſe who act, or controllers of thoſe who "judge;" and from ſome one or other of theſe claſſes no ſubject of Great Britain is wholly excluded

It is not unworthy of our notice, when we conſider in what reſpects the knowledge of hiſtory improves the underſtanding, that it tends to free the mind from many fooliſh prejudices, particularly an unreaſonable partiality for our own country, merely as our own country, which makes a people truly ridiculous in the eyes of foreigners. It was a want of acquaintance with hiſtory that made the Chineſe Mandarines expreſs their aſtoniſh-

ment to find their country make ſo ſmall a figure in a map of the world, which the Jeſuits ſhewed them. And through the ſame ignorance, the Samoedes, a people inhabiting the northern parts of Siberia, whom Le Bruyn deſcribes as the loweſt and worſt provided for, of all the human race, wondered that the Czar of Muſcovy did not chuſe to live among them.

National prejudices likewiſe produce a moſt unreaſonable averſion to foreign nations and foreign religions, which nothing but an acquaintance with hiſtory can cure. The misfortune is, that it is too often the intereſt of particular perſons, and parties, to promote thoſe prejudices. The Moors of Africa were ſurprized to find their firſt chriſtian captives in the ſhape of men; and our very ſigns do to this day bear the traces of the extravagant opinion of the ſize and the ſtrength of the Saracens, which they who returned from the cruſades propagated among their ignorant countrymen.

The knowledge of hiſtory operates no leſs favourably, and effectually, in removing the prejudices that may have been entertained in favour of ancient or modern times, by giving a juſt idea of the advantages and diſadvantages of mankind in all ages.

Far am I, however, from imagining that the conſequence of ſtudying hiſtory will be an indifference to our own country. On the contrary, I think it one of the greateſt advantages ariſing from the ſtudy of hiſtory, to an inhabitant of Great Britain, that he will generally lay down his book more thoroughly ſatisfied with his own ſituation; and will be, from rational conviction, and not from blind prejudice, a more zealous friend to the intereſt of his country than before.

Indeed, ſo apparent are the ſuperior advantages of our conſtitution, and laws, if not of our manners and cuſtoms, over thoſe

of moſt other nations, that there are few foreigners who do not give ours the preference to their own. Monteſquieu, one of the firſt of philoſophical politicians, that is, thoſe who have treated of laws and government with a juſt regard to the principles of human nature, and the ſituation and wants of mankind, is in raptures, and almoſt quits the ſtyle of philoſophy, whenever he treats of our conſtitution. And Voltaire, who is exceedingly partial to the power and glory of France, cannot help doing the ſame juſtice to the ſuperior excellence of our government. Indeed, as a man of a free and bold turn of thinking, you will be ſenſible that he could not have done otherwiſe, when we come to analize the Britiſh conſtitution, and to ſhew from what its excellence reſults; though, at the ſame time, I ſhall not fail to point out ſome radical and very conſiderable defects in it*.

Under the head of *prejudices*, I ſhall juſt mention a pleaſant, but not unimportant obſervation of Mr. Hume, viz. that the *fair ſex* may learn in hiſtory that *love* is not the only, nor always the moſt governing, principle in the hearts of men; which from the reading of novels, frequenting the theatre, and even the general turn of polite converſation, they might otherwiſe imagine.

But the capital advantage we derive from hiſtory under this head is, that from this ſource only can be derived all future improvements in the ſcience of *government*. And if the well being of ſociety be our object, this is, after all, the moſt important of all ſciences. For certainly more ſubſtantial benefit reſults to ſociety from the proper balance of the ſeveral powers of a ſtate, or even from one wiſe law, reſpecting the liberties and properties

* This refers to a courſe of lectures, which I do not publiſh, but of which a a *Syllabus* may be ſeen in my *Eſſay on Education*.

of

of men, than could be derived from all the other ſciences put together. I except, however, the ſciences, if they may be ſo called, of morality and religion.

Human nature, with the various intereſts and connexions of men in a ſtate of ſociety, is ſo complex a ſubject that nothing can be ſafely concluded *a priori* with reſpect to it. Every thing that we can depend upon muſt be derived from *facts*. All the plans of government laid down by the wiſeſt of the ancients, as Plato, Ariſtotle, and Cicero, are, without exception, defective in many capital inſtances; and notwithſtanding the farther lights that More and Harrington might have derived from the hiſtory of many centuries after them, neither the *Utopia* of the former, nor the *Oceana* of the latter, would bear to be reduced to practice. The former is viſionary even to a proverb.

This grand ſcience is ſtill in its infancy. Men of the greateſt reflection and experience could not pretend to pronounce, with any degree of certainty, what, for inſtance, would be the conſequence of any conſiderable change in our own conſtitution and government, or that of other nations. And do we not frequently ſee that our ableſt miniſters of ſtate, who give the cloſeſt attention to the internal policy of the kingdom, are obliged to change their meaſures, in conſequence of their being diſappointed in their expectations from them. This makes it ſo extremely hazardous to introduce any material change into an eſtabliſhed form of government. No human ſagacity can foreſee what inconvenience might ariſe from it.

So important is this ſcience of government, that nothing can be more worthy of the ſtudy of thoſe who have ſufficient abilities, and who are friends of mankind; and the only foundation on which men who think, and who are not carried away by their

their own imaginations, will build any concluſions is *hiſtorical facts*. Hypotheſes built upon arguments *a priori* are leaſt of all tolerable. Here obſervation and experience are the only ſafe guides.

As all other ſciences have made very rapid advances in the preſent age, the ſcience of government bids fair to keep pace with them. Many ingenious men have of late turned their thoughts to this ſubject, and valuable treatiſes upon it have been publiſhed both in this country and abroad. But what is of much more value, we have now a vaſt ſtock of important *facts* before us, for our contemplation. The old governments of Europe are arrived to a conſiderable degree of maturity. We may rather ſay they are growing into decay; ſo that their ſeveral advantages and defects are become ſufficiently conſpicuous, and the new governments in North America are ſo many *new experiments*, of which political philoſophers cannot fail to make the greateſt uſe. Time has alſo weakened, and removed, many prejudices in favour of pretended *rights to power*, and peculiar *modes of government*; ſo that the only proper object of government, *the happineſs of the people*, is now almoſt univerſally ſeen, and alone attended to.

For want of acquaintance with hiſtory, we are apt to pronounce *a priori* many things to be impoſſible, which in fact really exiſt, and are very ſafe. Thus the King of Siam could not be made to believe that the Venetians had no king, any more than that water could have the hardneſs of ſtone, and bear men and carriages.

I ſhall conclude this head with adding, that the knowledge of hiſtory contributes to enlarge the mind by the acquaintance we are thereby enabled to form with all thoſe objects which,

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in the courſe of theſe lectures, will be pointed out as worthy of peculiar attention to an hiſtorian, the knowledge of which is equally uſeful for ſpeculative or practical purpoſes; ſo that philoſophers and politicians may equally avail themſelves of it.

LECTURE II.

Hiſtory tends to ſtrengthen the Sentiments of Virtue: ſhown from the Manner in which virtuous Impreſſions are actually made upon the Mind. Advantage of the Study of Hiſtory previous to a Perſon's being introduced into the World. Why the Repreſentations of Hiſtorians are almoſt univerſally favourable to Virtue. What kind of Scenes Hiſtory actually exhibits which are favourable to Virtue. A View of the Sentiments and Conduct of great Men inſpires the Mind with a Taſte for ſolid Glory and true Greatneſs. Hiſtory enables us to form juſt Ideas both of the Strength and Weakneſs of human Nature. Inſtances of both, with Reflections.

THE third uſe of hiſtory is, that it tends to ſtrengthen the ſentiments of virtue. That this is the tendency of an acquaintance with hiſtory will be evident, if we conſider in what manner virtuous impreſſions are actually made upon the mind. How do we acquire a love for virtue; but by frequently viewing it in thoſe points of light in which it appears *deſirable* to us, and in a ſituation of mind in which no bias is laid upon us in favour of vice?

It

It cannot be denied by any who maintain that virtue is its own ſufficient reward in this life, that even a juſt and well-conducted knowledge of the world would have this happy effect. It is only a partial acquaintance with it, ſeeing things in an unfair point of light, and with minds prejudiced by proſpects of pleaſure, intereſt, or falſe notions of honour, that prevents that happy conſequence from taking place univerſally. Now, to ſtudy hiſtory is to come at the knowledge of the world in the moſt favourable circumſtances. Hiſtorians are the beſt guides and tutors we can take with us in our travels. They ſhow us *the whole* of tranſactions and characters, before a partial view of them can have had time to make any unfavourable impreſſions on our minds; and all the reflexions they make upon men and things are uniformly dictated by a ſenſe of virtue and honour. Even Machiavel himſelf, though his very name conveys the idea of baſeneſs and villany as a politician, diſcovers, as Mr. Hume obſerves, true ſentiments of virtue in his hiſtory of Florence.

In ſuch company, and in the hands of ſuch able and faithful conductors, what reaſon have we to be alarmed to ſee our friends introduced to a knowledge of mankind? There is certainly a great difference between a perſon's being admitted to ſee the figure which Alexander the Great, or Charles XII. made at the head of their conqueſts; to view the court of Dionyſius, of Nero, or of Lewis XIV. in all their ſplendour, and ſeeing the figure their whole lives make in the annals of hiſtory. In the former ſituation the uncautious mind of a young man might be in danger of being captivated with the charms of ambition, voluptuouſneſs, or magnificence; but looking upon the ſame objects from the more advantageous ſituation in which hiſtory places us, we muſt certainly be equally ſtruck with their

their vanity and folly, and conceive a diſguſt and averſion to them. It is with the knowledge of the world as Pope ſays it is with learning.

> Here ſmaller draughts intoxicate the brain,
> But drinking largely ſobers us again.

The only reaſon why a young perſon cannot be ſafely truſted with viewing the vices, as well as the virtues, that are in the world is that, if left to himſelf in real life, vice may be ſo circumſtanced, as to be but too inviting to his unexperienced mind. But in hiſtory vice never appears tempting. Indeed, whatever be the diſpoſition of hiſtorians themſelves, if they give a faithful view of things, as they have really come to paſs, they cannot help giving a repreſentation favourable to virtue. So conſiſtent is the order of Divine Providence, that, if the ſcheme be fairly and compleatly repreſented, we may depend upon it that nothing will be exhibited from which it may be fairly concluded, that vice is eligible upon the whole. Contrary, therefore, to what may be apprehended from a promiſcuous acquaintance with the world, through the glaſs of hiſtory, vices may be viewed as ſafely as virtues. Nay, they both equally teach wiſdom and good morals. It is even impoſſible to ſay which of them inculcate the important leſſon with more force. The exceſſes of a Nero, and the goodneſs of a Marcus Aurelius, have the ſame good effect in hiſtory.

Thus it appears, by arguing as it were *a priori*, from the lights in which characters and events are ſeen in hiſtory, that it *muſt* have an effect that is favourable to virtue. I ſhall now demonſtrate the ſame thing more particularly, by ſhowing what ſcenes hiſtory actually exhibits that have this happy tendency.

In the firſt place, hiſtory by diſplaying the ſentiments and conduct of truly great men, and thoſe of a contrary character, tends to inſpire us with a taſte for ſolid glory and real greatneſs; and convinces us that it does not conſiſt in what the generality of mankind are ſo eager in the purſuit of.

We can never imagine, if we derive our inſtruction from hiſtory, that true greatneſs conſiſts in *riches*; when we ſee that ſome of the moſt diſtinguiſhed characters in the annals of mankind were formed, and lived, in poverty; men who ſhewed their contempt of riches by refuſing to improve the opportunities they had of amaſſing wealth. Not to mention Cincinnatus, Fabricius, and other Romans in the early ages of that city, honoured for their poverty, but who had no opportunity of acquiring what we ſhould call riches; Scipio Æmilianus, who might have engroſſed almoſt all the wealth of Carthage, never made a ſingle acquiſition in all his life. The great Philopæmen generally went in a very plain dreſs, and without any ſervant or attendants. The Emperors, Nerva, Trajan, Antoninus, and Aurelius, ſold their palaces, their gold and ſilver plate, their valuable furniture, and all the ſuperfluities they could diſpenſe with, which their predeceſſors had heaped up, and baniſhed all expences and delicacies from their tables with the greateſt ſeverity.

Theſe princes, together with Veſpaſian, Pertinax, Alexander Severus, Claudius the ſecond, and Tacitus, who were raiſed to the empire by their merit, and whom all ages have admired as the greateſt and the beſt of princes, were ever fond of the greateſt plainneſs in their apparel, furniture and outward appearance. The ruins of Adrian's country ſeat are ſtill to be ſeen, and it does not appear to have exceeded the bigneſs of one of our common houſes. Even Auguſtus himſelf, during a reign of near fifty years, never changed his apartment, or furniture.

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We ſee the ſame juſt turn of thinking in the famous Cornelia, daughter of the great Scipio. When a lady of her acquaintance deſired very importunately to ſee her toilet, ſhe deferred ſatisfying her curioſity till her children, who were the famous Gracchi, came from ſchool, and then only ſaid *En! hæc ornamenta mea ſunt. Theſe are my ornaments.*

When temperance, frugality and a juſt ſenſe of greatneſs are graced with ſuch names as theſe I have mentioned, ſhall we be in any danger of abandoning ourſelves to exceſs in imitation of the infamous Nero, whoſe golden palace, Herodian ſays, was as large as all the reſt of the city of Rome, and whoſe extravagance in other reſpects was in proportion to it; of Caligula, of the beaſtly Commodus, or the mad Heliogabalus? Do we admire Lucullus the more for the idea that Cicero gives us of his expenſive table? Or can we think Marc Antony to be commended for having a ſucceſſion of grand entertainments always ready, that whenever he was diſpoſed to eat he might never wait half an hour?

Can we think that *honours* and *preferment* conſtitute true greatneſs, when we ſee in hiſtory that the moſt worthy men have generally declined them? Tacitus and Probus, who did ſo much honour to their ſtations, were both advanced to the empire againſt their inclinations: and in how much fairer a point of light do their characters ſtand than that of thoſe ſons of ambition, who waded through ſeas of blood to come at it?

The extravagances of Alexander the Great in killing his beſt friends, the cruelties of the Spaniards in America, the ruin of Sweden by Charles XII. are certainly more proper to ſhew the folly and madneſs of unbounded ambition, than their victories are to dazzle our minds with their glare. How we regret that unhappy turn of mind when we conſider what valuable members

of ſociety their abilities would have rendered ſuch men as Julius Cæſar, and Pompey, had they jointly employed them to raiſe the glory of their country; and that the expences of Lewis XIV. in preparations for deſtruction, were more than ſufficient to have founded many numerous colonies, and to have put them into a flouriſhing condition.

Nothing ſo effectually cures a man of the abſurd pride of *birth* and *family* as ſeeing ſome of the greateſt men in hiſtory, ſuch as Tamerlane, Cardinal Ximines, and Pope Sixtus the fifth, riſe from low beginnings; and we are always charmed to ſee truly great men, who were poſſeſſed of the advantages of birth, wave all pretences to merit on that account. Even Veſpaſian laughed at thoſe who pretended to derive his deſcent from Hercules.

An exceſſive paſſion for *fame*, as an end of action, reduces a man very low in the light of hiſtory. How much does the letter which Cicero wrote to Lucceius, and which, unfortunately for him, yet remains (in which he almoſt inſiſts upon his praiſing him at the expence of truth, in the hiſtory of his conſulſhip) ſink that great man in our eſteem. On the contrary, how prodigiouſly does the character of Cato riſe upon us by a few words of Salluſt, *Maluit eſſe, quam videri, bonus: He rather choſe to* BE, *than to* SEEM, *good.* And the vanity of Nero upon his excelling in muſic, and of Commodus on his dexterity in killing wild beaſts, completely expoſes the affectation of excelling in what is out of our proper ſphere. The ſame maxim is conveyed by Philip, when he aſked his ſon Alexander, if he was not aſhamed to play on a muſical inſtrument ſo well as he did.

In how different a light do thoſe men appear in hiſtory who are greedy to engroſs all praiſe to themſelves, and thoſe who

contribute heartily to the reputation of others? An inſtance of the former we ſee in Claudius, who made an idle expedition to finiſh the conqueſt of Britain; of the latter in M. Aurelius, who denied himſelf the pleaſure of attending his ſiſter Lucilla (whom he had married to L. Verus) into the Eaſt, leſt his preſence ſhould give a check to the growing reputation of his ſon-in-law, and ſeem to draw upon himſelf the honour of putting an end to an important war, to the other's prejudice. And hiſtory does the moſt ample recompence to thoſe who have generouſly ſacrificed their own reputation to the public good. Thus Fabius Maximus, to his immortal honour, notwithſtanding the provoking inſults he received from Minucius, reſcued him from the hands of Hannibal, ſetting aſide his *reſentment*, and conſulting only his zeal for the intereſt of his country.

We conceive more clearly what true greatneſs of mind is, at the ſame time that our hearts are more filled with admiration of it, and burn with a ſtronger paſſion for it, by a ſimple narration of ſome incidents in hiſtory, than by the moſt elaborate and philoſophically exact deſcription of it. What can give us a clearer idea of the noble ſentiments of ſtrict honour and integrity than Marſhal Turenne's refuſing a ſum of money, which was offered him if he would not march his army through a certain territory, becauſe he had not intended to march that way. Does not every perſon's heart ſtrongly feel the ſentiments of benevolence, when he hears the good Titus exclaiming that he had *loſt a day*, becauſe he had done no perſon a good office in it? If a perſon be capable of forming any idea of greatneſs of mind in forgiving injuries, he will do it from hearing the following reply that Lewis XII. made to a courtier, who preſſed him to puniſh a perſon who had offended him before he came to the throne: "It "belongs not to the king of France to revenge the injuries

"offered

" offered to the Duke of Orleans." Or, laſtly, what can give ſo juſt an idea of the true ſpirit and magnanimity of a ſoldier, as the reply that Viſcount Dorée made to Charles IX. of France, when he received an order from him to maſſacre the Hugonots, " I deſire your majeſty would employ me in what is *poſſible*."

The laſt example leads me to a ſecond obſervation, which is, that hiſtory enables us to form juſt ideas of the dignity and the weakneſs of human nature, both of which are extremely uſeful to us in life. The one inſpires us with the noble ambition of riſing above the level of our ſpecies; and the other view, without deſtroying, tempers, that ambition with no more than a due degree of humility and diffidence; which in fact equally contributes to the ſame end. What I mean will be more clearly underſtood by a few examples.

How can we conceive a more juſt, or a more exalted idea of a ſenſe of true honour and heroiſm, than by reading ſuch ſtories as that of the behaviour of the Earl of Peterborough at the famous ſiege of Barcelona. While he was ſettling the terms of capitulation with the Spaniſh commander, news was brought that, contrary to the ſuſpenſion of arms agreed upon between them, a party of the allied troops had broke into the town. The Earl told the Spaniſh general, that if he would give him leave to enter the town with his Engliſh troops, he would drive out his allies, and then return to finiſh the capitulation, which he actually performed.

I ſhall ſay nothing of the fabulous ſtory of Curtius, who is ſaid to have leaped into a gulph, or of Codrus, who procured his own death to ſave his country, ſince inſtances of equal courage in braving death are by no means uncommon in our own times. At the ſiege of Turin one Mica fired a mine, and purpoſely deſtroyed himſelf with the enemy. And how many commanders

of

of ſhips have purpoſely blown them up rather than ſtrike their colours. Theſe, it may be ſaid, are the effects of a refined ſenſe of honour, which is acquired in a highly improved ſtate of ſociety. But we may ſee what may be called the native ſtrength of the mind in the North American Indians, with whom, when priſoners, it is very common to refuſe dying by their own hands, on purpoſe to ſhew the honour of their country, in ſupporting the tortures which they know are prepared for them.

Facts like theſe, together with thoſe which ſhow the extent of genius in ſuch men as Ariſtotle, Archimedes, and Sir Iſaac Newton, give us high ideas of the dignity of human nature, and the capacity of the human mind. But the other ſide of the picture, which hiſtory with equal faithfulneſs preſents to us, gives us a moſt affecting, and equally inſtructive view, of our deplorable weakneſs and frailty, exemplified in the greateſt of men.

Hardly any thing gives us a more affecting view of the weakneſs and inconſiſtency to which the mind of man is liable, than to ſee men of ſound and clear underſtandings, in moſt reſpects, and of upright honeſt hearts, fall into ſentiments that lead to groſs and painful ſuperſtitions. A moſt remarkable inſtance of this was Paſcal, one of the greateſt geniuſes, and beſt men, that ever lived. He entertained a notion that God made men miſerable here in order to their being happy hereafter; and in conſequence of this he impoſed upon himſelf the moſt diſagreeable mortifications. He even ordered a wall to be built before a window of his ſtudy, from which he thought he had too agreeable a proſpect. He alſo wore a girdle full of ſharp points next to his ſkin, and while he was eating or drinking any thing that was grateful to his appetite, he was conſtantly pricking himſelf, that he might not be ſenſible of any

pleaſure.

pleaſure. His ſiſter too, who was a woman of fine ſenſe and great piety, actually died of thirſt, as ſhe thought, to the glory of God. It was certainly through a weakneſs of the ſame nature in the ingenious and excellent Fenelon, that he ſubmitted without reſerve to the arbitrary ſentence of the Pope, when he condemned a book that he publiſhed. He even preached to condemn his own book, and forbad his friends to defend it.

They have not only been good men, and of a truly religious turn of mind, who have been ſubject to ſuch groundleſs ſuperſtitions, but the moſt vicious and abandoned alſo. Both kinds of inſtances ſhew the weakneſs to which human nature is liable. But whereas a good man who is a ſlave to ſuperſtition is an object of the greateſt compaſſion, a wicked man in the ſame ſituation is rather a ſubject of ridicule. What, for inſtance, can be more completely ridiculous than Lewis XI. of France, a man who made no conſcience of any villany, going always covered with relics, and wearing a leaden image of the Virgin Mary in his hat, of which it is ſaid he aſked pardon for his murders before they were committed. The ſame prince made a deed of the earldom of Bolloigne to the Virgin Mary.

Even the ſentiments of morality, which of all others one would expect to find the moſt invariable and uncorrupted, are found greatly perverted, and intermixed with notions that are foreign, and even contrary, to morality, in the minds of ſome whole nations. Thus the Tartars, with whom it is a ſin and a capital crime, as Voltaire ſays, to put a knife in the fire, to lean againſt a whip, to beat a horſe with a bridle, or to break one bone with another, think it no ſin, in ſome caſes, to break their word, to plunder, and commit murder. The ſame Arab who, if he find you at his door claiming hoſpitality, would receive

receive you as his brother, and conduct you the next day, would not have ſcrupled to rob and murder you, as his lawful prey, if he had met you in the deſert an hour before. To give inſtances of the weakneſs and inconſiſtency in the human mind, which hiſtory preſents us with, were endleſs. Theſe are ſufficient to give us an idea how affecting and uſeful ſuch views are, and at the ſame time how entertaining to a ſpeculative mind.

LECTURE III.

Hiſtory tends to ſtrengthen the Sentiments of Virtue by the Variety of Views in which it exhibits the Conduct of Divine Providence, ſhowing important Events brought about by inconſiderable Means, or contrary to the Intention of thoſe Perſons who were the principal Agents in them. A Regard to Divine Providence heightens our Satisfaction in reading Hiſtory, and tends to throw an agreeable Light upon the moſt gloomy and diſguſting Parts of it. Hiſtory, in the Misfortunes and Hardſhips to which the moſt diſtinguiſhed Perſonages have been reduced, gives a deep Conviction of the Inſtability of all human Things, prepares our Minds to ſubmit to Adverſity with Reſignation, and makes us acquieſce in the more humble Stations of Life. Laſtly, the moſt common Obſervations on the Tempers and Manners of Men, ſuch as we may collect every Day from common Life, affect us much more ſtrongly when we ſee them exemplified in the Hiſtory of great Perſonages. At what Age Hiſtory ought to be read. In what Senſe proper for every Age.

THIRDLY, Hiſtory tends to ſtrengthen the ſentiments of virtue, by the variety of views in which it exhibits the conduct of divine providence, and points out the hand of God,

in the affairs of men. For certainly whatever ſuggeſts to us the idea of a divine Being, either in the end, or means, of great events, muſt be favourable to piety and virtue.

That the world has a *governor*, or *ſuperintendant*, is juſt as evident as that it had a *maker*. For no perſon does any thing without ſome deſign, or without intending to make ſome uſe of it. A teleſcope is made to be uſed for the better diſtinguiſhing diſtant objects, the eye itſelf for ſeeing things at a moderate diſtance from us, and no doubt, *men*, and the *world*, for ſome end or other.

And as the ſame Being that made the greateſt things, made the ſmalleſt things alſo, all being parts of the ſame ſyſtem, ſome uſe, no doubt, is made of every thing, even what appears to us the moſt inconſiderable; ſo that, as our Saviour obſerved, "a "ſparrow falls not to the ground without God, and the very hairs "of our heads are numbered." Alſo, as nothing was *made*, ſo nothing can *come to paſs* without the knowledge, the appointment, or permiſſion of God. Something, therefore, is intended by every thing that *happens*, as well as by every thing that is *made*. But in little things a deſign is not ſo apparent as in greater and more ſtriking things. Though, therefore, the hand of God be really in every thing that happens, and that is recorded in hiſtory, our attention is more forcibly drawn to it in great events, and eſpecially in things which happen in a manner unexpected by us.

How can we help acknowledging the hand of God when we ſee great and important events brought about by ſeemingly trifling and inconſiderable means; or by means which ſeem to have little or no relation to the end; as when our king James and both houſes of parliament were reſcued from deſtruction, by a letter which a conſpirator ſent with a view to ſave one of the members of the Houſe of Lords for whom he had a friendſhip?

Who would have imagined that the deſire which Henry VIII. had to be divorced from his wife, would have brought about the reformation in England? The indiſcretion of a Portugueſe prieſt, who would not give place to one of the king's officers in Japan, and the obſtinacy of the jeſuits, in refuſing to give up the houſe which a nobleman had given them, when his ſon claimed it back again, occaſioned the extirpation of the Roman catholic religion in that country.

But what moſt of all ſhews the hand of Providence, and the weakneſs and ſhort ſightedneſs of men, are great events being brought about contrary to the intention of the perſons who were the chief inſtruments of them, and by the very means which were intended to produce a contrary event. Thus perſecution has always been the means of promoting the perſecuted religion; inſomuch, that it is become a common proverb, that "the "blood of the martyrs is the ſeed of the church." Thus, likewiſe, Athens, Lacedæmon, Carthage, Rome, and many other ſtates have been ruined by their own ſucceſſes. Philip II. of Spain, by his intolerable oppreſſion, was the cauſe of the freedom of the ſtates of Holland. Such has often been the conſequence of wicked men over-acting their parts. Thus alſo the ſenate of Rome was once ſaved by Catiline's making the ſignal for the maſſacre too ſoon.

With what ſatisfaction may a perſon who has an eye to divine Providence read ſuch a paſſage as the following in Machiavel, that Borgia had ſo well conducted his meaſures, that he muſt have been maſter of Rome, and of the whole eccleſiaſtical eſtate, after the death of his father, but that it was impoſſible for him to foreſee that he himſelf would be at the point of death at the very time that Alexander his father finiſhed his life. They were both poiſoned at an entertainment, by a miſtake of the waiter,

who ſerved them with the wine which was to have taken off their enemies.

It is no uncommon thing, in the hiſtory of divine Providence, that perſons being known to have abilities ſhall have been the means of keeping them in obſcurity, while others have been advanced in conſequence of their ſeeming inſignificance. If Auguſtus had ſhown any capacity, as a ſtateſman or general, any greatneſs of ſoul, or any thing in the leaſt enterprizing, at firſt, he would probably never have been maſter of the Roman empire. But while Cicero, and Antony, in their turns, thought to make a tool of him, they, unknown to themſelves, increaſed his power and influence, at the expence of their own.

In this view it is very amuſing, and uſeful, to conſider to what a different purpoſe, the labour, powers, and works of men, and nations, have been employed from what was originally thought of and intended; as that the Romans, after all their conqueſts of other nations, ſhould be often governed by ſavage and tyrannical barbarians, ſuch as Maximin and others; and that that city, the miſtreſs of the world, which was built by Romulus, and whoſe power was enlarged by ſuch men as Camillus, Scipio Africanus, Marius, Sylla, Cæſar, Pompey, and Trajan, ſhould now be in ſubjection to the Pope, and the ſeat of a power totally different from what had before reſided in it, and of which the founders could have no conception. How far was Conſtantine from foreſeeing, that Conſtantinople would be the capital of the Turkiſh empire, and the principal ſupport of a religion oppoſite to that which he eſtabliſhed. How far, alſo, were the heads of the Grecian commonwealths from foreſeeing, that their country, the ſeat of arts and liberty, would ever become the moſt ignorant, and enſlaved of all the ſtates of Europe.

A regard

A regard to divine providence, is, likewiſe, extremely uſeful to heighten our ſatisfaction in reading hiſtory, and throw an agreeable light upon the moſt gloomy and diſguſting parts of it. With a view to this, the moſt diſagreeable objects in hiſtory will bear to be looked upon with ſatisfaction. And could we ſee every event, in all its connexions, and moſt diſtant influences, we ſhould, no doubt, perfectly acquieſce in every thing that comes to paſs under the government of God; in ſeeing that all evils, lead to, and terminate in a greater good. But in many caſes, we ſee events which give us pain at firſt ſight, and which occaſion much regret and diſappointment, to thoſe who give more ſcope to their paſſions than to their reflection while they are reading; which, if we look no farther than the next and immediate conſequences, we ſhall be thoroughly ſatisfied and pleaſed with.

No perſon converſant with the ancient claſſical hiſtorians, and who has thereby acquired a claſſical taſte, and claſſical notions of *liberty*, but regrets that Rome, in the height of its glory, ſhould fall under the power of maſters. But it is becauſe he does not conſider that all the provinces of the vaſt Roman empire were moſt miſerably oppreſſed and plundered by the republican governors, who had little to fear from courts of juſtice; but were relieved and happy under the government of perſons who lived in conſtant fear of being accuſed of mal-adminiſtration, to an inexorable maſter. Nay the provinces were not much leſs happy under Tiberius and Nero, than under Trajan and the Antonines.

A reader of Thucydides is apt to be extremely mortified at the ill-treatment of Alcibiades, and the defeat of the Athenians before Syracuſe. But it is becauſe he does not think what would probably have been the conſequence of the ſucceſs of that expedition;

expedition; namely, the ſlavery of Greece, and, from the nature of its government, the confuſion and ſlavery of Athens too. As ſucceſs naturally points out our favourite hero to us, we cannot help conceiving a violent indignation againſt Hanno, for taking no more care to ſend recruits to Hannibal, after the battle of Cannæ. But juſtly did he, and all Carthage, dread the power of Hannibal, when maſter of Rome, who was able to change the whole form of their government, even when he was conquered.

Theſe obvious remarks I mention here, to ſhow the neceſſity of thought and *reflection* in reading hiſtory. Farther obſervations of this kind, and ſuch as are leſs obvious, I ſhall reſerve for another part of this courſe of lectures, in which I ſhall endeavour to enter a little farther into the views and conduct of divine providence, in the government of the world.

In the fourth place, hiſtory, in the misfortunes and hardſhips to which the moſt diſtinguiſhed perſonages have been reduced, gives us a deep conviction of the inſtability of all human things, and prepares our minds, to ſubmit to adverſity with more patience and reſignation, as to a condition from which we ſee none are exempt. Even the misfortunes and diſappointments of brave and good men, who have brought themſelves into difficulties, in conſequence of their generous attempts, in favour of the liberties and beſt intereſts of mankind, do not as exhibited in hiſtory, in the leaſt tend to ſlacken our zeal in the ſame glorious cauſe; at the ſame time that they make us more prudent in the choice and proſecution of our meaſures, to attain the ſame end, and diſpoſe us to yield to diſappointment with a better grace. That an acquaintance with hiſtory has this effect, I appeal to what any perſon feels after reading of the untimely end of Agis, Cato, Brutus, Hampden,

and

and the great Algernon Sydney. The honourable mention that will, to the end of the world, be made of ſuch glorious, though unfortunate men as theſe, and their noble ends, will raiſe more friends to the ſame great intereſts; while their misfortunes will only ſerve to make thoſe friends more prudent, and therefore probably more ſucceſsful in their endeavours.

But, independent of theſe martyrs of liberty raiſing up more, and more ſucceſsful patrons of it, the remarkable reverſes of fortune in the hiſtory of conſiderable perſonages, has a fine effect upon the human mind. It wonderfully ſoftens and calms it, and gives it an excellent temper for encountering with the viciſſitudes of life. What other ſenſations do we feel, while we read that Henrietta, daughter of Henry IV. of France, and wife to Charles I. of England, was reduced to the utmoſt extremity of poverty; and that her daughter, who was afterwards married to a brother of Lewis XIV. is ſaid to have lain in bed for want of coals to keep her warm, while the people of Paris, blind with rage, paid no attention to their ſufferings. The ſame kind of ſenſations we feel, when we read of the great and ſucceſsful general Beliſarius (if the ſtory be true) begging his bread; of Cortez, the renowned conqueror of Mexico, living unknown and in diſgrace in Spain, and ſcarce able to get to ſpeak to his maſter Charles V. though when the king aſked, who the fellow was that was ſo clamorous to ſpeak to him, he cried out, "I am one who have got your majeſty "more provinces, than your father left you towns." He afterwards ſerved in a rank little higher than that of a common ſoldier on the coaſt of Barbary.

Fifthly, Theſe great reverſes of fortune, and calamities of men in high ſtations, at the ſame time that they are hardly ever known to diſcourage men of ability and ſpirit from undertaking the

the public ſervice, when regularly called to it may juſtly make perſons who are born to private ſtations, and who have no opportunity of riſing above them, content with their ſituation. The many who have abdicated royalty, as Chriſtina queen of Sweden, Charles V. emperor of Germany, Victor Amadeus, king of Sardinia, John Caſimer, king of Poland, and others, convince us that crowns do not always ſit eaſy; and that perſons in high ſtations have need of a ſtrong ſenſe of honour and integrity to make their fatigues and misfortunes tolerable.

It is no unuſeful ſentiment that we collect from reading that Richlieu ſhortened his days by the uneaſineſs with which he was devoured in the fulneſs of his power. What Voltaire ſays of Lewis XIV. is an excellent momento to the ambitious; that he ſaw all his family periſh by premature deaths; that though towards the cloſe of his life, he appeared in public as uſual, in private the pain of his many misfortunes pierced him to the heart, and threw him into convulſions; that he met with domeſtic loſſes at the concluſion of an unſucceſsful war, and before he was ſure of obtaining a peace, and at a time when a famine had waſted his kingdom; and that he loſt in the minds of his ſubjects, during the laſt three years of his life, all the reſpect and eſteem he had gained by his great actions.

The advantage of preferring a private ſituation, eſpecially to entering into the views of faction, we ſee in the ſecurity and long life of Atticus, in the moſt diſtracted times of the Roman hiſtory; and in Richard Cromwell, who lived to a great age contented and happy, whereas his father never knew what happineſs was. The hiſtory of very few great ſtateſmen can match that of Cardinal Fleury, of whom we read, that his ſchemes were crowned with ſucceſs from the year 1726 to 1742; that he lived ninety years, and preſerved his faculties unimpaired to

the laſt; which makes his hiſtorian ſay, that, if ever there was a happy man upon earth, it was doubtleſs Cardinal Fleury.

Laſtly, Thoſe obſervations on the tempers and manners of men, which we may collect every day from common life, affect us much more ſtrongly when we ſee them exemplified in the hiſtory of great perſonages. We ſee, for inſtance, every day, that almoſt all perſons who are intruſted with power abuſe it. But this is better exemplified in kings, and miniſters of ſtate. We ſee again that men in low circumſtances are apt to be deſpiſed, and that court is always paid to the great and the powerful. But this maxim receives a ſtronger confirmation, and makes a deeper impreſſion, than any occurrence in private life could occaſion, when we think what court was paid to Oliver Cromwell, by all the princes of Europe, while Charles II. then in exile, could not obtain an interview with the miniſters of either France or Spain, at the treaty of the Pyrenees, though he made a journey on purpoſe to obtain it.

It is a common and juſt obſervation, that, through the inconſtancy of our nature, men are liable to conceive haſty and unreaſonable diſguſt at their ſituation, and yet, when they have changed it, wiſh to reſume it; and this we ſee exemplified in private life almoſt every day. But ever ſo many examples of this kind do not make ſo great an impreſſion upon us, as the hiſtory of Victor Amadeus king of Sardinia, who abdicated the crown through mere caprice, but found, as ſome hiſtorian ſays, that the company of his miſtreſs, who was become his wife, devotion, and the tranquility of retirement, could not ſatisfy a ſoul occupied during fifty years with the affairs of Europe. He was deſirous of regaining the throne even by force, and afterwards died in confinement.

How incapable riches and power are to ſatisfy the mind of man, is an obſervation which few perſons, in the courſe of their own experience, have not ſeen occaſion to make. But the ſentiment makes a deeper impreſſion upon us when we ſee it exemplified in the hiſtory of ſtateſmen and conquerors; and as it is beautifully exhibited in a converſation which paſſed between Pyrrhus and his miniſter Cyneas, before their expedition into Italy. The miniſter aſked the king what he propoſed to do when he had ſubdued the Romans? He anſwered, paſs into Sicily. What then? ſaid the miniſter. Conquer the Carthagenians, replies the king. And what follows that? ſays the miniſter. Be ſovereign of Greece, and then enjoy ourſelves, ſaid the king. And why, replied the ſenſible miniſter, can we not do this *laſt* now?

To add one inſtance more: we ſee the vanity of the living in their boundleſs proviſion for futurity, in the diſſipation of the large fortunes of covetous perſons, by the extravagance of their heirs. But it does not affect us near ſo much as when we are reading in hiſtory, that the riches which Sixtus V. amaſſed in his pontificate, and thoſe which Henry IV. of France, had with great difficulty ſaved, were ſquandered away within leſs than a year after their deaths; alſo that the treaſure which Henry VII. of England, had raiſed by every art of extortion went almoſt as faſt.

Thus we have ſeen how, by hiſtory, our minds are agreeably entertained, our paſſions are exerciſed, and our judgments are formed, ſo as either to fit us for the buſineſs of life, or furniſh us with materials for ſcience; how ſentiments of virtue are acquired, and the beſt moral maxims of conduct are moſt deeply impreſſed upon our minds. All theſe advantages reſult

from hiſtory as a *ſtudy*. There are other advantages reſulting to mankind from it, in a different manner, as only one inſtrument of recording tranſactions. How imperfect, for inſtance, without hiſtory, would be our knowledge of genealogies, and conſequently of the order of important ſucceſſions, and how precarious would be the advantage, reſulting from conventions and treaties of all kinds, if all the articles of them were repoſited only in the memory of the contracting parties. We read that the boundaries of ſome of the Grecian ſtates were once determined by a verſe of Homer, who, in his deſcription of Greece, relates what they were in his time.

The preceding account of the uſes of hiſtory will aſſiſt us in determining what has formerly been a ſubject of debate among the critics, namely, at what *age* hiſtory is proper to be read.

Conſidering the various uſes to which the ſtudy of hiſtory has been ſhown to be ſubſervient, I ſee no reaſon why we ſhould heſitate to pronounce, that it can neither be begun too early, nor continued too late. If hiſtory amuſe the imagination, exerciſe and improve the paſſions, inſpire a taſte for true glory, juſt ſentiments of, and a love for, virtue, and thereby form the *temper*, and prepare men for converſing with the world; what can be more proper for young perſons? And ſince the mind cannot be too well furniſhed in theſe reſpects, and men cannot have too large a ſtock of this *anticipated experience*, the ſtudy of it muſt be uſeful while there remains any thing of the part we have to act on the theatre of the world. Moreover, ſince hiſtory furniſhes materials for the fineſt ſpeculations, and the moſt important ſciences, it cannot but be of ſervice while we make any uſe of our intellectual faculties.

Since hiſtory may be conſidered as containing examples of the ſciences of *morals* and *politics* chiefly, no doubt a perſon who has ſtudied thoſe ſciences, is qualified to read hiſtory with more pleaſure and advantage. But then it muſt likewiſe be conſidered, that it is impoſſible to be maſter of theſe ſciences without a knowledge of hiſtory. Their influences and uſes are reciprocal. Thus the perſon who has ſtudied the grammar of any language will read authors who have written in it with more eaſe and advantage. But grammars could never have been made without a previous knowledge of the languages for which they were made, nor even learned, without the uſe of examples borrowed from thoſe languages.

That young perſons are not capable of making a right uſe of hiſtorical examples in a moral reſpect was obviated when the advantages of hiſtory above experience were mentioned. If what was ſaid there be conſidered, it will appear much ſafer for a child to be truſted with a piece of hiſtory than to hear the common news of the town he lives in. It is certain that neither in the one nor the other is exact juſtice done to the characters of men in the events of their lives. But in hiſtory it is done much more completely than it is within the compaſs of any particular perſon's obſervation.

A proper regard, no doubt, ought to be had to the age, experience, and previouſly acquired knowledge, as well as the intended ſphere of life, of the perſon to whom particular hiſtories are recommended. It would be very prepoſterous to adviſe any perſon to begin the ſtudy of hiſtory with ſuch writers as Polybius or Tacitus, and to end with Livy, Quintus Curtius, or Cornelius Nepos. Common ſenſe will direct that hiſtories which tend chiefly to amuſe the imagination, or inforce the plaineſt inſtructions in morals, ought rather to be recommended

to

to young perſons, who will both have the moſt reliſh for ſuch works, and to whom they will be of the greateſt uſe; and that hiſtories which furniſh more exerciſe for the judgment ſhould be reſerved for an age in which the judgment is riper. However, there can be no great inconvenience in young perſons being indulged in reading almoſt all hiſtories promiſcuouſly. Their natural diſpoſition, and previous acquirements, will direct them to what they are moſt capable of profiting by, and the higher uſes of the ſame works may be ſafely left to be reaped at a ſecond peruſal, in a more advanced ſtate of life. No general hiſtory is better calculated for the uſe of young perſons than that of Rollin.

PART II.

OF THE SOURCES OF HISTORY.

LECTURE IV.

Importance of Records. What have been the principal Methods of tranſmitting to Poſterity the Knowledge of Events, with the Advantages and Imperfections of each. Oral Tradition. Dependent and independent Evidence. To eſtimate the Value of ſingle Evidences. Hiſtorical Examples. The Corruption of Tradition exemplified in eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory, and the ancient Hiſtory of Egypt. Difference between ancient and modern Times with Reſpect to the Communication of Intelligence.

THOUGH it cannot be ſuppoſed that mankind, in very early and rude ages, could be aware of any of the advantages which ariſe from Hiſtory as a *ſtudy*, or that they could even have much occaſion to tranſmit the knowledge of any of their tranſactions to poſterity; yet it muſt be acknowledged that the apprehenſion of the uſefulneſs of ſome contrivance for this purpoſe muſt very ſoon have ariſen in the minds of a people who were forming themſelves into any kind of *ſociety*. No ſociety,

ſociety, for inſtance, can ſubſiſt without compacts and agreements; and theſe are ſo manifeſtly liable to be forgotten, or evaded (particularly as the obligation of keeping a promiſe is ſeldom found to have much force among barbarians) that it muſt have immediately appeared deſirable to have ſome ſtanding memorials of them, as a better ſecurity for their obſervance than the memory, or the honour, of the contracting parties. Various other more extenſive uſes of *records* could not fail to occur in a more improved ſtate of ſociety; and with the improvements of ſociety, and the multiplied uſes of records, it may reaſonably be ſuppoſed that the methods of recording would likewiſe improve. Accordingly we find that theſe have been various; and the traces of paſt events which the practice of theſe methods has left in the world, are the chief ſources to which all hiſtorians muſt have recourſe for their materials.

Under this ſecond head, *of the ſources of hiſtory*, I propoſe to enumerate all, or at leaſt the principal, methods that have been made uſe of for tranſmitting to poſterity the knowledge of paſt events; and I ſhall treat of them in what I apprehend to be their natural order, beginning with the firſt and leaſt perfect, and ending with the laſt and moſt perfect, that human ingenuity has yet invented. Under each head I ſhall conſider the nature of the evidence on which it reſts, and give a general account of the information we may expect from it. After theſe *direct* ſources of hiſtory, I ſhall mention the principal of thoſe means by which we are able *indirectly* to aſcertain, and tranſmit the knowledge of important facts.

Before the invention of the arts of writing and carving, *Oral Tradition* muſt have been the only vehicle of hiſtorical knowledge; and, with reſpect to this, it is well worth our notice, that the wiſdom of Providence has made proviſion for the

the inſtruction of youth in the diſpoſitions and circumſtances of their aged parents. When the active ſcenes of their lives are cloſed, their active powers being ſpent, but the active paſſions of their nature ſtill ſo much awake, as deeply to intereſt them in public tranſactions, ſince they can have but little ſhare in, and enjoyment of, the *preſent*, they are perpetually reviewing, and taking pleaſure in relating, the *paſt ſcenes* of their lives; which, being impreſſed when their minds were vigorous and retentive, are faithfully retained in memory. Thus the natural talkativeneſs of old age, meeting with the natural inquiſitiveneſs and curioſity of youth, makes a happy coincidence of circumſtances, very favourable to the propagation of knowledge and inſtruction.

It muſt be confeſſed, and it is obvious to conceive, that this method of conveying hiſtorical knowledge muſt have been very imperfect, and inadequate for ſeveral important uſes of hiſtory. But, notwithſtanding this, it might have been much more extenſive and exact than we, who chiefly make uſe of different and more perfect methods, can well imagine. It is univerſally true, that when any art has been long diſuſed, it grows leſs perfect, and more inſufficient, than when mankind, through want of any other, were obliged to make the moſt of it; and it is therefore apt to ſuffer more upon compariſon with a new, and more cultivated art than, in the nature of things, it ought to do. Thus we ſee that perſons who have no knowledge of written numbers are much readier in mental computation, than thoſe who have been uſed to have recourſe to their pen upon every occaſion.

It is very poſſible, therefore, that we may entertain too mean an opinion of the ſtate of hiſtorical knowledge before the invention of the preſent arts of recording events; ſince perſons who had no hiſtories to read would make more enquiries, and

take more pains to procure information from all quarters, and would, of courſe, be more capable of informing others than any perſons now living could be with reſpect to what they have not learned from books. It is not improbable but that, in thoſe unlettered ages, every elderly perſon would be poſſeſſed of a little treaſure of hiſtory; which would not conſiſt of his own family ſtories only, but contain many particulars relative to the general ſtate of his country, and other neighbouring nations.

Theſe informations were the ſources from which Herodotus derived the greateſt part of his hiſtory; and the growing reputation of that author demonſtrates how much real and uſeful knowledge a man of ſenſe and enquiry may get from ſuch channels.

To ſecure the remembrance of very important facts, particularly of compacts and treaties, we find it to have been the cuſtom in all nations before the uſe of letters, and even continued long after their introduction, to recite them before large ſtated aſſemblies of people. Hereby, both an air of importance was given to them, and a greater number of witneſſes provided for them. For many ages in this country, every contract of importance was made in ſome public court; and no bargain or ſale of goods was valid unleſs made in the open market. It is not wholly improbable, but that it might be in conſequence of ſuch cuſtoms as theſe that Herodotus was led to recite his written hiſtory before the general aſſembly of Greece at the Olympic games.

It is a very good method which the Indians of North America uſe, to enable them to retain in memory all the articles of a complex treaty. The public orator delivers to one of his attendants a ſtring of wampum upon the recital of every article; ſo that each is intruſted to a different perſon, and he is provided with a memorial of it, that may frequently remind

him of it, and thereby the more deeply impreſs it on his memory.

The paintings of the Mexicans anſwered the ſame purpoſe much better, and contained a pretty full hiſtory of the nation from a very early period. They conſiſted of the figures of natural objects, ſometimes contracted into *hieroglyphics*, mixed with many ſymbolical characters; and the names of perſons and places were diſtinguiſhed by the figures of the objects which the names expreſſed. Thus, with the help of tradition (there being perſons whoſe buſineſs it was to explain theſe pictures) they conveyed to future ages a very competent knowledge of the paſt.

But, notwithſtanding every method of improving merely oral tradition, it ſeems to have been not without reaſon, that Sir Iſaac Newton lays it down as a general maxim, that things ſaid to have been done above a hundred, or two hundred, years before the uſe of letters are worthy of little credit. And if we conſider the nature of evidence, the reaſonableneſs of this aſſertion will be more apparent; and particularly if we attend to the great difference there is between dependent and independent evidence.

If the evidence of a fact depend upon a number of original witneſſes, no way connected with one another, ſo that the inſufficiency of one ſhall not at all affect the reſt, the fact will not be improbable unleſs the deficiency of credibility in them all be very great. But, if the evidence be ſupported by a number of witneſſes dependent upon one another, ſo that the inſufficiency of any one ſhall wholly invalidate that of all who come after, the credibility of each ſeparately taken muſt be very great, to make the evidence of the whole authentic. In the former caſe, the more witneſſes there are the better. For each evidence, though ever ſo weak, increaſes the probability, and brings us nearer to certainty. But in the latter caſe the fewer there are the better;

for each evidence, though ever ſo ſtrong, leſſens the probability, and makes the fact more uncertain.

This ſubject Dr. Hartley has illuſtrated by the mathematical doctrine of chances, in the following manner; putting $\frac{1}{a}$ for the abſolute value of each dependent evidence, or the inſufficiency of each independent evidence, abſolute certainty in the former caſe, and abſolute uncertainty in the latter being equal to unity, and making the number of witneſſes the *power* of a in both. From this it will be manifeſt, upon a little attention, that provided the power (n) be conſiderable (a) may be very little without greatly diminiſhing the value of the expreſſion; that is, without greatly leſſening the probability in the one caſe, or the improbability in the other. For example, let $a=3$ and $n=10$; then $a^{\frac{1}{n}}=\frac{1}{30,000,000,000}$ which, in independent evidence, will be little leſs than abſolute certainty; and in dependent evidence, little leſs than abſolute uncertainty.

The value of each ſeparate evidence muſt be eſtimated from conſidering the opportunity any perſon had of knowing the truth, and his fidelity in communicating it. In hiſtorical evidence, where an author's moral character is not known, his veracity will be judged of according to his ſituation, by conſidering whether it was ſuch as would lay him under any bias to falſify, or not.

From the firſt of theſe conſiderations we infer that the hiſtories of England, Scotland, and other European ſtates, before the Roman conqueſts, and the introduction of letters (as they are grounded chiefly upon oral tradition) muſt be very uncertain: and hence the marks of fable in ſome of the firſt books of almoſt all very ancient hiſtories. From the ſecond conſideration we are led to give little credit to the accounts of either friends or enemies in the hiſtories of rival nations, and particularly of

oppoſite ſects or parties, unleſs we have an opportunity of comparing the accounts of both ſides. Thus the character which the Romans have given of the Carthaginians; and even their accounts of facts in their intercourſe with them will be for ever reckoned dubious; whereas the moſt exact and impartial hiſtory of their tranſactions with the Grecian ſtates may be extracted from the accounts of both nations. And from both conſiderations is founded the great degree of credit that is univerſally given to the hiſtories of Thucydides and Xenophon. Both theſe authors lived in the times of which they write; both, though Athenians, and employed in public characters by their country, were ill-uſed by their countrymen, and obliged to take refuge among the Lacedemonians; ſo that it may be pretty fairly preſumed, that one prejudice would nearly balance another, and their minds be left, as near as poſſible, in a ſtate of abſolute impartiality.

The compariſon of the Egyptian hiſtories of Herodotus, Diodorus Siculus, and what Plato relates from a poem of Solon's, ſhews the natural progreſs of fiction in hiſtory, where there are no records to curb and reſtrain the invention of a people bent upon magnifying their antiquities. After Cambyſes had deſtroyed the records of Egypt, the prieſts of that country were continually adding to the catalogue of their kings, and carrying more backward the dates of paſt tranſactions, as appears by the following circumſtances. Solon, Herodotus, and Diodorus, all travelled into Egypt at different and ſucceſſive periods of time, and all had their information from the prieſts of that country. According to Solon, who was the firſt of the three, that viſited Egypt, the wars of the great gods happened in the days of Cecrops, but according to Herodotus they muſt have been more ancient; and

Diodorus

Diodorus, who wrote four hundred years after Herodotus, inſerts many nameleſs kings between thoſe whom he placed in continual ſucceſſion; ſo that their earlieſt hiſtory was then removed into the remoteſt antiquity.

The credibility of hiſtorians who treat of their own times, and do not compile from the writings of others, particularly of thoſe who themſelves bore a part in public affairs, as Thucydides, Xenophon, Cæſar, Clarendon, Sully, &c. come under the conſideration of original evidences. With reſpect to writers of this claſs, it is obvious to remark, that the ancients were in circumſtances in which it was much leſs eaſy to receive information than the moderns, by reaſon of their want of the methods which are now in uſe for the ſpeedy conveying of intelligence. For theſe we are indebted to that freer intercourſe which more extenſive politics and commerce have promoted between different ſtates, and eſpecially the eſtabliſhment of poſts in all the civilized countries of Europe.

In ancient times a nation might be ſubdued, and hardly any but its next neighbours hear of it. This may be the reaſon why ſo little notice is taken of the wars of the Romans and Carthaginians by the cotemporary Greek writers, who do not ſo ſtrictly confine themſelves to their ſubject, as purpoſely to decline the mention of foreign incidents that would embelliſh their works. For a like reaſon it is remarkable that all the ſtates of Europe were long ignorant both of Jenghis Khan and his conqueſts. But ſince commerce and navigation have been ſo much extended, nothing can happen in the moſt remote parts of the civilized world but the knowledge of it is immediately communicated to all the reſt.

It is a pretty juſt obſervation of Mr. Hume, that, in general, there is more candour and ſincerity in the ancient hiſtorians, but leſs exactneſs and care than in the moderns. The reaſon

of the latter may be, that the firſt writers of hiſtory could not be aware of the *uſe* of ſuch minute exactneſs in relating a variety of hiſtorical circumſtances. For example, not having obſerved, or ſufficiently attended to, ſuch ſubjects as government, laws, manners, arts, &c. they were not aware that the progreſs of them would ever become a matter of ſuch general and reaſonable curioſity as it is now. Alſo having ſeen no important end anſwered by chronological exactneſs, and having no fixed æras to guide them, they would naturally not be ſo attentive to fix the preciſe *dates* of events, as the more extenſive views of modern hiſtorians makes it deſirable that they had been.

On the other hand, the ancient and claſſical hiſtorians had an advantage in the *ſubject* of their hiſtories, with reſpect to the certainty of intelligence, concerning the objects and motives of ſchemes and tranſactions. They treat chiefly of the politics and wars of republican ſtates, in which nothing can be kept ſecret. For beſides that modern politics are much more complex and refined than the ancient, more pains are taken to conceal them; which, in European courts and monarchies, or ſtates in which the executive power is lodged in one hand or a few hands, it is more eaſy to do. Notwithſtanding this, ſo much are the methods of coming at intelligence multiplied, and improved, in the more connected modern ſtates of Europe, that the ſagacity even of ſome cotemporary writers has arrived at remarkable certainty and exactneſs in their accounts of public meaſures; and even with reſpect to thoſe nations which are the moſt famed for the intricacy of their politics. Gerard, ſecretary to the Duke d'Epernon, relates, that when Davila's hiſtory was read by that old man, who had been a principal actor in that age, he expreſſed his wonder how the author could be ſo well informed of the moſt ſecret councils and meaſures of thoſe times.

LECTURE V.

Of hiſtorical Poems. Thoſe of Homer. Public Monuments with traditional Explications. Hiſtorical cuſtoms. Hiſtorical Names of Perſons, Countries and Towns, &c. Monuments with emblematical and alphabetical Inſcriptions.

A METHOD of tranſmiting the knowledge of important events with greater accuracy than by ſimple narration would be by *hiſtorical poems*, with which few barbarous nations have been long wholly unprovided. A ſtory reduced to any kind of *metre* would ſuffer little by repetition; and it can hardly be ſuppoſed that any variation in the repetition would be of ſuch a nature as to affect the general facts it contained. Conſidering that all the learning of thoſe nations muſt neceſſarily conſiſt of thoſe poems, and that, being compoſed chiefly in honour of their founders and heroes, they would be conſtantly ſung in religious ceremonies, and on feſtivals inſtituted to their memory (which circumſtances would greatly contribute to extend and perpetuate them) it is eaſily conceived what uſe an hiſtorian, who could come at the knowledge of ſuch poems, might make of them.

The bards among the Britons and ancient Germans, and the Scaldri among the Scandinavians, are moſt worthy of our notice in this reſpect, as they were an order of men whoſe ſole employment it was to compoſe and repeat thoſe poems. Olaus Magnus has been much indebted to the poems of the Scaldri in his hiſtory of one of the northern nations. It were to be wiſhed that the poems of the Welſh and Iriſh were better known.

Even

Even the poems of Homer (particularly the Iliad) bear evident marks of their being founded on fact, notwithſtanding the mixture of the abſurd Grecian mythology with them. This author is much more circumſtantial than a mere writer of fiction, particularly ſo ancient a writer, would ever have thought of being. The remarkable diſtinctneſs of his characters is likewiſe no bad foundation for ſuppoſing that they were copied from real life. In both theſe reſpects the Æneid of Virgil is very defective. The hiſtorical part of that work is neither ſo circumſtantial, nor are the characters introduced into it ſo diſtinctly marked. It has, therefore, much more the air of a romance.

Particularity in facts and characters neceſſarily belong, and cloſely adhere, to whatever has actually happened. It is therefore almoſt impoſſible to exclude the mention of the particular circumſtances of time, place, and character in a relation of facts; whereas theſe being ſuperfluous in the views of a writer of fiction, and not neceſſarily obtruding themſelves into the ſtory, they are generally omitted. Beſides, ſuch ſtories are commonly more agreeable to the trite maxims of criticiſm, as being free from every thing that is not eſſential to the main ſtory. But this kind of correctneſs is purchaſed at the expence of what is one of the beſt characteriſtics of truth. And happy has it been for the cauſe of truth that the importance of introducing ſuch a number of ſeemingly unneceſſary particulars into narrations was not more early attended to, as hereby it is much more eaſy to diſtinguiſh truth from fiction in ancient writings.

Another means of preſerving traditions, which has been more general than hiſtorical poems, is by *viſible monuments*, ſuch as *pillars*, *edifices*, or mere *heaps of ſtones*, erected upon occaſion of any remarkable event. Theſe monuments, engaging the attention of the riſing generation, would occaſion ſuch a ſucceſſion of

enquiries

enquiries and informations, concerning the origin and uſe of them, as would long preſerve the knowledge of the tranſactions they were connected with. Of this nature probably was the tower of Babel, as well as the pillar that Jacob erected at Hebron, and the heap of ſtones jointly raiſed by him and Laban as a memorial of their mutual reconciliation and covenant.

As theſe monuments had no *inſcriptions*, their explanation muſt only have been traditional; but as the facts were connected with viſible and ſtriking aſſociated circumſtances, they would have a great advantage over thoſe conveyed by mere oral tradition. The ſight of the monument could not fail to revive, in the minds of all who lived in the neighbourhood, the remembrance of the uſe and deſign of it; and while the monument ſubſiſted, it can hardly be ſuppoſed that even a migration of the people would be followed by an abſolute loſs of the hiſtory. For the new-comers, though not equally intereſted in the events referred to with the late inhabitants, could not help being induced, by principles common to human nature, to get what information they could procure with reſpect to ſuch curioſities in the countries they ſettled in.

Giving *names* to countries, towns, &c. has been made uſe of as an expedient for perpetuating the memory of their planters or founders, from times of the earlieſt antiquity to the preſent age; from Enoch, which had its name from the ſon of Cain, down to Pitſbury, which was ſo called in the late war. Indeed there is hardly a name given either to a perſon, or place in the Old Teſtament without an hiſtorical reaſon for it. And where tranſactions would not be to the honour of the perſons concerned in them, the officious zeal of their enemies has ſometimes affixed opprobious names and epithets to the places which were the theatre of them, which bid equally fair to adhere to

them. Thus the field in which Pope Gregory treated with Lewis the feeble, when they were both known to enter into the negociation with a view to deceive one another, went for a long time, and is perhaps to this day known, by the name of *the field of lies*.

Of the ſame nature with public monuments and traditional explanations, are *national cuſtoms*, in commemoration of remarkable hiſtorical events; ſuch as the Athenians ſending annually a ſhip to Delos, the paſchal ſupper among the Jews, the Lord's ſupper among Chriſtians, our making bonfires on the fifth of November, and carrying oak bows on the twenty-ninth of May.

The philoſopher Anaximander effectually provided for his not being forgotten; when, being aſked by the magiſtrates at Lampſacum, where he had reſided, what they ſhould do to honour his memory, he made the ſeemingly ſmall and ſimple requeſt, that the boys might have leave to play on the anniverſary of his deceaſe.

Theſe hiſtorical cuſtoms would not, indeed, like hiſtorical monuments, remain in the country where they were firſt eſtabliſhed, and thereby come to the knowledge of the new inhabitants; but, which is an equivalent advantage, they are eaſily transferred with the people that migrate, wherever they go; and in another reſpect they are more uſeful to an hiſtorian, as they aſſiſt him in tracing the original of colonies, which would naturally retain the cuſtoms of their mother country. Thus Newton infers from what we read of the practice of circumciſion in Colchis and Iberia, that the inhabitants of thoſe countries were probably a colony of Egyptians, and perhaps left there in the expedition of Seſoſtris. By the ſame manner of reaſoning the Chineſe have alſo of late been ſuſpected to have been

been a colony of Egyptians, and the preſent inhabitants of North America to be of the race of the ancient Sarmatians, inhabiting the north eaſtern parts of Aſia.

It is not improbable but that the corruption which the traditional explanations of naked monuments is unavoidably liable to, might firſt ſuggeſt to mankind the expediency of ſome contrivance to make them their own interpreters; either by the form, or ſituation of them, as in the pyramids of Egypt, trophies of victory, &c. or by engraving upon them ſome emblems, or devices, expreſſive of the uſes they were intended to anſwer. Thus Seſoſtris is ſaid to have erected pillars in the countries he ſubdued, and to have engraved upon ſome of them emblems expreſſive of the cowardice or weakneſs of the inhabitants, upon others ſymbols of the vigour and ſpirit with which they had oppoſed his invaſion.

As the names of *men*, in all original languages, were borrowed from thoſe of *things*, the figures of thoſe things which bore the ſame name with any perſon, engraved upon his ſepulchre, was no bad method of expreſſing to whom it belonged. This method might have been uſed before alphabetical writing was invented; and as the biſhop of Clogher ingeniouſly conjectures, may eaſily be ſuppoſed to have given riſe to the worſhip of animals and vegetables among the Egyptians.

As, in after ages, improvements were made in this method by the Greeks who ſettled in Egypt, who erected ſtatues holding in their hands the things which the former inhabitants had been ſatisfied with pourtraying upon the ſepulchres, the ſame learned perſon, with great appearance of reaſon, conjectures that the ſtatue of Jupiter Caſius holding a pomegranate in his hand was originally deſigned for Caphtor, who is mentioned by Moſes, and whoſe name ſignifies a pomegranate in Hebrew, which was

the original language of that country. This conjecture receives additional confirmation from conſidering that this Caphtor, who ſeems to have come along with his great grandfather Ham into Egypt, was the firſt Egyptian warrior that we meet with any account of in real hiſtory, who extended his conqueſts beyond the boundaries of Egypt, and, in company with his brethren the Philiſtines, diſpoſſeſſed the Avim of that part of the land of Canaan which was afterwards called Philiſtia, and was in after times deified. Nor is it improbable that he might have been the ſame perſon alſo with Dionyſus the elder, or the great Bacchus.

The apparent convenience of thoſe monuments to receive inſcriptions would probably ſet mens ingenuity to work, and greatly accelerate the invention of *writing*, both hieroglyphical and alphabetical. And there is reaſon to believe that letters, and characters of all kinds, were made upon wood, ſtone, metal, and ſuch like durable materials, long before they were made uſe of in common life.

The imperfection of monuments, even with inſcriptions, is that they could record only a *few events*, in a manner deſtitute of *circumſtances*, and that they are not eaſily multiplied, ſo that, remaining ſingle, and little care being taken to renew them, the materials would in time moulder away, and the inſcription become effaced. And the attention which was not ſufficient to keep them in repair, would hardly ſuffice for the preſervation of the traditional explications. The Arundelian marbles, which contain all the leading events of the Grecian hiſtory till ſixty years after the death of Alexander the Great; and the Capitoline marbles, which contain a catalogue of the Roman magiſtrates, and the principal events of their hiſtory, during the time of the commonwealth are juſtly reckoned among the moſt valuable remains of monumental inſcriptions.

LECT.

LECTURE VI.

Of Coins and Medals. Their Origin and Uſe in Hiſtory. The principal Information we receive from them. The Progreſs of Letters traced by their Means. Addiſon's Uſe of Medals. Ancient and modern Coins compared, with a View both to Hiſtory and Taſte. Of the Origin and Uſe of Heraldry.

COINS and medals, with reſpect to their Uſes in Hiſtory, may be conſidered as a kind of *portable monuments*. The materials of both are ſimilar, and the events they record are ſingle, and remarkable. The ſmall ſize of a coin does not even admit of its being ſo circumſtantial as a monument; and though, for the ſame reaſon, it be more liable to be loſt, it is alſo more capable of being concealed, and is not expoſed to the injuries of the weather. And as great numbers are ſtruck at the ſame time, they are eaſily multiplied, ſo that, upon the whole, they ſtand a much fairer chance of being ſeen by poſterity. Accordingly, we have innumerably more coins that were ſtruck in ancient times than there are ancient monuments ſtanding in the world; and though we may be more liable to be impoſed upon by pretended *antiques*, this conſideration affects the virtuoſo more than the hiſtorian. For if the new ones be exact copies of ancient coins, they corrupt no hiſtory, and it can hardly be worth any perſon's while to coin a piece whoſe known exiſtence has acquired it no degree of reputation.

If we attend only to the original, and primary, uſe of coins, we ought to make no mention of them among the *direct* methods of recording events. For all the ancient coins, which have now obtained the name of *medals*, were nothing more than the ſtamped money of ancient nations. Yet as the monumental uſe of ſuch portable pieces of metal, ſtruck by the direction of a ſtate, were ſo very obvious; it was not long before this double uſe of them was attended to. We know nothing of the impreſſion of the *Crœſii* (ſo called from Crœſus, who is the firſt prince in the world whoſe coined money is mentioned by hiſtorians, and which were afterwards recoined by Darius the Mede, and from him received the name of *Darics*) but the Latins coined their firſt money with the head of Saturn on one ſide, and the figure of a ſhip on the other, in memory of his coming into Italy by ſea; and upon every new event, or the acceſſion of a new magiſtrate in the Roman empire, the dies of their coins were changed, to take proper notice of that new circumſtance. No anecdotes, indeed, of a private nature are found on them. For though ſome few pieces under the emperors were coined in honour of the ſenate, the army, or the people; no private perſons had that honour; except they were related to the emperor.

Such a number of events have been recorded by ancient medals, and ſo great has been the care of the moderns, in collecting and preſerving them, that they now give great light to hiſtory; in confirming ſuch paſſages as are true in old authors, in aſcertaining what was before doubtful, and in recording ſuch as were omitted. It is remarkable that hiſtory ſcarce makes any mention of Balbec, or Palmyra, whoſe ruins are ſo famous; and we have little knowledge of them but what is ſupplied by inſcriptions. It is by this means that Mr. Valliant has diſembroiled a hiſtory which was loſt to the world before his

his time. For out of a ſhort collection of medals he has given us an entire chronicle of the kings of Syria; though it will hardly be regarded as ſupplying any important defect in hiſtory, that medals inform us of wives and children of emperors, which have not been taken notice of by any perſon whatever.

All the principal events of the reign of Lewis XIV. have been recorded in a ſet of medals, ſtruck for that very purpoſe. But the inconvenience attending modern medals is, that, not being uſed as the current coin of any ſtate, and being made of very coſtly materials, they are confined to the cabinets of a few perſons. This was not the caſe of any of the ancient medals, except a few of a larger ſize, and more curious workmanſhip, which were ſtruck by the emperors for preſents to their friends, foreign princes, or ambaſſadors, &c. and which we now diſtinguiſh by the name of *medallions*.

But medals are not only, or perhaps chiefly, valuable as they are a means of preſerving the knowledge of the leading events in hiſtory; they have likewiſe been a means of tranſmitting to us a more perfect knowledge of many things which we are deſirous of forming an idea of, than any hiſtory, by means of verbal deſcription, could poſſibly give us. We find upon them traces of *cuſtoms* and *manners*, the figures of ancient buildings, inſtruments, habits, and of a variety of things which ſhew the ſtate of the *arts* and conveniencies of life, in the age wherein the medals were ſtruck; many things in nature which hiſtorians have paſſed unnoticed, as being familiar in the times in which they wrote, or have omitted, as not being aware that they would ever engage the curioſity of after ages.

It is alſo very amuſing to view upon medals the features of the great men of antiquity; which, if they were ſtruck in an age in which the arts flouriſhed, as is the caſe with many of the Roman,

man, and particularly of the Grecian medals, we can have no doubt but that they are ſufficiently exact. And even if they were ſtruck in an age which did not excel in the arts of painting, ſtatuary, and carving; yet, as faces are chiefly drawn in *profile* upon coins, any perſon who has taken notice of *ſhadows*, may conceive that a very ſtriking likeneſs may eaſily be hit off in that way. However, in general, ſo extremely exact are the drawings of moſt ſingle objects upon the old medals of the beſt ages, that even thoſe famous painters Raphael, Le Bruyn, and Rubens, thought it worth their while thoroughly to ſtudy them, and preſerve cabinets of them. And indeed the generality of figures on many of the Grecian medals have a deſign, an attitude, a force, and a delicacy, in the expreſſion even of the muſcles and veins of human figures, and they are ſupported by ſo high a relief, that they infinitely ſurpaſs both the Roman medals, and moſt of the moderns. The only defect in the drawing upon old medals is, that buildings, and other objects, are ſeen only in front, and never in perſpective, an art with which the ancients were but little acquainted.

Upon medals are ſeen plans of the moſt conſiderable *buildings* of ancient Rome. One might make an entire galley, ſays Mr. Addiſon, out of the plans that are to be met with on the reverſes of ſeveral old coins. We ſee alſo the *habits*, and *dreſſes* of different perſons, in different ages; and moreover not only *things* but *cuſtoms*, civil and religious, are preſerved upon coins, as ſacrifices, triumphs, congiaries, allocutions, decurſions, lectiſterniums, and many other antiquated names and ceremonies, that we ſhould not have had ſo juſt a notion of, were they not ſtill preſerved on coins. Without the help of coins, as the ſame author prettily obſerves, we ſhould never have known which of the emperors was the firſt that wore a beard, or rode in ſtirrups.

Old coins exhibit likewiſe the general *character* and *taſte* of the ſeveral Emperors. Thus we ſee Nero with his fiddle, and Commodus dreſſed in his lion's ſkin; though we are not to truſt to coins for the characters of princes. If ſo, Claudius would be as great a conqueror as Julius Cæſar, and Domitian as good a man as Titus. For though the coinage at Rome was ſubject to the direction of the ſenate, there is no doubt but that in this, as in every thing elſe, they conſulted the taſte and pleaſure of the Emperors.

Several of theſe advantages medals poſſeſs in common with ſome monumental inſcriptions. They alſo agree in this, that from medals and inſcriptions only we can form any idea of the progreſs of the art and manner of *writing* in different nations and ages. Writing upon other materials could not be expected to be ſo durable. In fact, the oldeſt manuſcripts are few, and modern, in compariſon of thouſands of coins and inſcriptions.

Upon medals are preſerved the entire forms of many ancient *edifices*, and probably the attitudes of famous *ſtatues*, and copies of celebrated *paintings*, of which there are now no other remains. What confirms this conjecture is, that four of the moſt beautiful ſtatues extant, viz. Hercules of Farneſe, Venus of Medicis, Apollo of Belvedere, and the famous Marcus Aurelius on horſeback, do all of them make their appearance on ancient medals; though this was not known till the ſtatues themſelves were diſcovered.

On the ſubject of the uſe of ancient medals (though it be an uſe of them that has little relation to hiſtory) I ſhall juſt mention the principal ſubject of Mr. Addiſon's ingenious treatiſe on medals, viz. that ancient medals and ancient poetry throw great light upon one another. He has there exhibited a variety of examples, in which the artiſt who

made the medal, and the poet have had the ſame *thought*, or copied from the very ſame common original; the very ſame thing being deſcribed in verſe, and expreſſed in ſculpture. He has likewiſe preſented us with a curious ſet of medals which clear up ſeveral difficult paſſages in old authors, and he has produced many paſſages from the poets, which explain the reverſes of ſeveral medals; ſo that the ſcience of medals makes no inconſiderable figure in the *Belles Lettres*.

What the ancients made a ſecondary and ſubordinate uſe of their coins, modern Europeans ſtates have attended to, as a primary and direct object. They have ſtruck a variety of medals with no other view than to celebrate ſome illuſtrious perſon, or perpetuate the knowledge of ſome memorable event. For modern medals do not paſs current in payment, as money; but at the ſame time that they anſwer this their primary uſe more compleatly, by containing more circumſtances of a tranſaction, and being furniſhed with more preciſe dates; in every other reſpect they ſhow a manifeſt want of judgment and true taſte; and, but that it is impoſſible we ſhould be deceived in the manners and cuſtoms of our own times, they might greatly miſlead us in thoſe reſpects.

With the method of coining, we have ſlaviſhly copied the manners, cuſtoms, habits, and even the religion, of the ancients, with the ſame abſurdity, and in the ſame degree, as we have done in our poetry. This, from the nature of things, muſt ever be the fate of all *imitations*, that are not made immediately from nature. If we copy from other imitations, we ſhall always copy too much, an error which the inventors of any art, who copy only from nature and real life, are not liable to. For this reaſon every borrowed art will always betray its original. Thus, though, in ancient medals, we may trace

all the variations of mode in dreſs, in the modern we cannot; all perſons without diſtinction, being commonly ſeen in a Roman habit. From the ancient medals we may form ſome idea of the cuſtoms and religion of the country in which they were ſtruck; but we might conclude all the modern European ſtates to be, in part at leaſt, Heathen from their medals. Had the Greeks and Romans been guilty of the ſame extravagance, we ſhould not have found half the uſes of their medals that we now do. It is impoſſible to learn from the French medals, either the religion, the cuſtoms, or the habits of the French nation.

With regard to *taſte* in medals, the moderns, attending principally to their hiſtorical uſes, have crouded them too much with inſcriptions; ſometimes for want of room, putting a part of the legend upon the external edge of the piece; whereas the inſcriptions upon moſt ancient medals are extremely conciſe, and elegant. We even find entire copies of verſes on ſome modern medals, and on others ſo abſurd and extravagant a taſte is ſhown, that the year of our Lord is diſtinguiſhed by the letters in the inſcription which denote it being raiſed above the reſt. Laſtly, which is very remarkable, conſidering the great improvement of the arts in general; many of the ancient medals, as was hinted before, particularly thoſe of the kings of Macedon, are ſaid by the connoiſſeurs to exceed any thing of modern date in the beauty of their workmanſhip, and the delicacy of expreſſion. During the time of the early Roman Emperors, the medals had a more beautiful *relief* than the modern. But about the time of Conſtantine they became quite flat, as thoſe of all European ſtates, which imitated them, likewiſe were, till of late years. We likewiſe copied the Conſtantinopolitan coinage in England till about the reign of Henry VII. in drawing a full face; whereas all

faces were drawn in profile (which is, on many accounts, far the moſt proper for a coin) till the end of the third century.

Conſidering the principal hiſtorical uſes of medals, without entering into all the fanciful views of a *virtuoſo*, intent upon compleating his ſeveral ſuites, it will appear no paradox that the *value* of a medal is not to be eſtimated either from the ſize, or the materials of it; but from what is curious in the head, the reverſe, or the legend of it; from its rarity, from the fineneſs of its workmanſhip, or from the goodneſs of its preſervation. Thus an Otho in ſilver is common and cheap; but an Otho in bronze is very ſcarce, and bears an immenſe price.

In modern times *coats of arms* have been made uſe of to diſtinguiſh families. They muſt therefore be of great uſe in tracing pedigrees, and conſequently in aſcertaining perſons and events in hiſtory.

The origin of armories ſeem, to be aſcribed with the greateſt probability to the ancient tournaments. Henry the Fowler, who regulated the tournaments in Germany, was the firſt who introduced theſe marks of honour. Coats of arms were then a kind of livery, compoſed of ſeveral bars, filets, and colours, to diſtinguiſh the combatants, whoſe features could not be ſeen during the engagement. And thoſe who had not been concerned in any tournaments had no arms, though they were gentlemen.

Such of the nobility and gentry as croſſed the ſea, in the expedition to the holy land, alſo aſſumed theſe tokens of honour, to diſtinguiſh themſelves.

Before thoſe times we find nothing upon ancient tombs but croſſes, with gothic inſcriptions, and repreſentations of the perſons deceaſed. The tomb of Pope Clement IV. who died

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in one thouſand two hundred and ſixty-eight, is the firſt whereon we find any *arms*; nor do they appear on any coin ſtruck before the year one thouſand three hundred and thirty-ſix. We meet with figures, it is true, much more ancient both in ſtandards and on medals; but neither princes nor cities ever had arms in form, nor does any author make mention of *blazoning* before that time.

Originally, none but the nobility had the right of bearing arms. But Charles V. king of France, having ennobled the Pariſians, by his charter, in one thouſand three hundred and ſeventy-one, permitted them to bear arms. From their example, the moſt eminent citizens of other places did the like.

Camden ſays the uſe of arms was not eſtabliſhed till the reign of Henry III. and he inſtances in ſeveral of the moſt conſiderable families in England; whereas till that time the ſon always bore arms different from thoſe of the father. About the ſame time it became the cuſtom in England for private gentlemen to bear arms, borrowing them from the lords of whom they held in fee, or to whom they were the moſt devoted.

Arms at preſent are of the nature of *titles*, being both alike *hereditary*, and the marks for diſtinguiſhing families and kindred, as names are of perſons and individuals.

All the methods of tranſmitting the knowledge of events to poſterity which have hitherto been mentioned, being more ſimple, and requiring leſs ability, would probably precede *hiſtories*, or narratives written upon light and portable materials; though theſe, no doubt, would be very ſhort, plain, and devoid of ornament at firſt. The traces of facts left by the practice of preceding methods muſt alſo have been the only

ſources

ſources from which the firſt hiſtorians could derive their materials for the hiſtories of times paſt. And ſince all nations, and all arts, approach to perfection by degrees, its probable that traditional poems and monuments, with or without inſcriptions, &c. would abound in thoſe countries which produced the firſt hiſtorians.

LECTURE VII.

The tranſition from public Monuments to written Hiſtories. Records and Archives of States. At what Time Chronology began to be attended to. Early Methods of noting the Intervals of Time. At what Time the Hiſtory of this weſtern Part of the World begins to be credible. Ancient Hiſtorians to be preferred, who write of the Events of their own Times. Modern Hiſtory beſt underſtood a conſiderable Time after the Events.

THE tranſition from public monuments to written hiſtories may eaſily be conceived to have been gradual, and almoſt inſenſible. For the firſt writings, or records in an hiſtorical form, were not the work of private perſons, who wrote either for their own reputation, or the ſervice of the public; but were made under the direction of ſome public magiſtrate; and, like the Capitoline tables, contained little more than a catalogue of the chief magiſtrates, and the bare mention of the principal events which happened under their adminiſtration.

adminiſtration. Such, probably, were the records of the Archons of Athens, the catalogue of the prieſteſſes of Juno Argiva, and not much more, probably were the chronicles of the kings of Judah, Iſrael and Perſia, of which mention is made in the Scriptures.

Few attempts were made by private perſons to compoſe hiſtory in the Greek language (in which the oldeſt writings now extant, except thoſe of the old Teſtament, are contained) before Herodotus, who is therefore ſtiled *the father of hiſtory*, and who wrote about four hundred and fifty years before Chriſt. Hiſtory never contained any variety of intereſting and curious particulars, nor received any of thoſe graces and ornaments, which render the ſtudy of it *liberal*, and engaging to the perſons not concerned in the tranſactions it records, till men of literature and leiſure gave their time and abilities to the ſubject.

As but *few* tranſactions could be tranſmitted by all the methods in uſe for recording them before the writing of hiſtory, and as hiſtorians themſelves afford no ſufficient dates for meaſuring the intervals of paſt time without chronology; it will be uſeful, in order to form a general idea about what time the bulk of hiſtory begins to be worthy of credit, to give ſome account of the time when hiſtory began to be written, and chronology to be attended to, in ſome countries of principal note. In this I ſhall chiefly follow Sir Iſaac Newton.

The Europeans had no chronology before the time of the Perſian Empire, and whatever chronology they now have of more ancient times has been framed ſince, by reaſoning and conjecture. What they call *the hiſtorical age* wants a good chronology for ſixty or ſeventy olympiads, and from ſuch wandering people as were formerly in Europe, there could be no memory of things done three or four generations before the uſe of letters.

Cadmus

Cadmus Mileſius, and Acuſilaus, the oldeſt hiſtorians among the Greeks. Joſephus ſays, were but a little before the expedition of the Perſians againſt the Greeks. Hellanicus was twelve years older than Herodotus, and digeſted his hiſtory by *ages*, or the ſucceſſion of the prieſteſſes of Juno and Argiva. Others digeſted theirs by the archons of Athens, or the kings of Lacedæmon. Herodotus himſelf uſes no particular æra. Thucydides makes uſe of the commencement of the Peloponneſian war, which is the ſubject of his hiſtory, as an æra to which he refers all the events he mentions. Ephorus, who brought his hiſtory to the twentieth year of Philip of Macedon, digeſted things by *generations*. The reckoning by *olympiads*, or any other fixed *æra*, was not yet in uſe among the Greeks. The Arundelian marbles were compoſed ſixty years after the death of Alexander the Great, and yet mention not the olympiads, nor any other ſtanding æra, but reckon backward from the time then preſent. In the next olympiad, Timæus Siculus wrote a hiſtory down to his own times, according to the olympiads. Eratoſthenes wrote about one hundred years after the death of Alexander the Great, and was followed by Apollodorus; and theſe two have been followed by all chronologers.

As Cambyſes deſtroyed all the records of Egypt, ſuch as they were, we have no account of that people which can be depended upon before their intercourſe with the Greeks, from whom, indeed, is derived all that we know of them, and that was not before the time of Pſammeticus, who began his reign in the year ſix hundred and ſixty-one before Chriſt. This we learn from Herodotus, who, when he is ſpeaking of thoſe Grecians who had helped to ſet Pſammeticus on the throne of Egypt, ſays that the Ionians and Carians continued for a long time to inhabit thoſe parts which lay near the ſea, below the city

city of Bubaſtis, in the Peluſiac branch of the Nile, till in ſucceeding times Amaſis king of Egypt cauſed them to abandon their habitations, and ſettle at Memphis, to defend him againſt the Egyptians. But from the time of their eſtabliſhment, he ſays, they had ſo conſtant a communication with the Greeks, that one may juſtly ſay we know all things that paſſed in Egypt from the reign of Pſammeticus to our age.

The chronology of the Latins is ſtill more uncertain than that of the Greeks. Both Plutarch and Servius repreſent great uncertainty in the originals of Rome; and no wonder, conſidering that the old records of the Latins were burned by the Gauls, one hundred and twenty-ſix years after the Regifuge, and one hundred and ſixty years before the death of Alexander the Great. Quintus Fabius Pictor, the oldeſt hiſtorian of the Latins, lived one hundred years later than Alexander, and took almoſt every thing from Diocles Peparethus, a Greek.

When the Greeks and Latins were forming their technical chronology, there were great diſputes about the antiquity of Rome. The Greeks made it much older than the Olympiads. Some of them ſaid it was built by Æneas; others by Romus, the ſon or grandſon of Æneas; others by a Romus, the ſon or grandſon of Latinus, king of the Aborigines; others by Romus the ſon of Ulyſſes, or of Aſcanius, or of Italus; and ſome of the Latins at firſt fell in with the opinion of the Greeks, ſaying that it was built by Romulus the ſon, or grandſon, of Æneas. Timæus Siculus repreſents it as built by Romulus the grandſon of Æneas, above one hundred years before the Olympiads, and ſo did Nævius the poet, who was twenty years older than Ennius, ſerved in the firſt Punic war, and wrote a hiſtory of that war. Hitherto nothing certain was agreed upon; but about a hundred and forty, or one hundred and fifty years after the death of Alexander the Great, they began to ſay that

Rome was built a ſecond time by Romulus, in the fifteenth age after the deſtruction of Troy, meaning by *ages*, the reigns of the kings of the Latins at Alba*.

Scythia beyond the Danube had no letters before Ulphilas their biſhop introduced them, ſix hundred years after the death of Alexander; and the Germans had none till they received them from the weſtern empire of the Latins, about ſeven hundred years after the death of that king. The Huns had none in the days of Procopius, who flouriſhed eight hundred and fifty years after the death of that king, and Sweden and Norway received them ſtill later†.

With regard to our own country, the Romans are the firſt nation from whom we learn any account of ourſelves, and we had no writers of our own till the planting of chriſtianity, in the time of the Saxon heptarchy. But from this time the church and the cloyſters furniſhed a conſtant ſucceſſion till the reformation; after which, and the revival of letters in the weſt, there can be no complaint of want of writers, of any kind, or party. And as to the bulk of modern hiſtory in general, and indeed a great part of what is now called ancient too; Lord Bolingbroke juſtly obſerves, that ſince ancient memorials have been ſo critically examined, and modern memorials have been ſo multiplied, it contains ſuch a probable ſeries of events, eaſily diſtinguiſhable from improbable, as forces the aſſent of every man who is in his ſenſes, and is ſufficient to anſwer all the purpoſes of the ſtudy of hiſtory.

It may not be amiſs to cloſe this account of *hiſtorians* properly ſo called, with obſerving, that, of ancient hiſtorians, a cotemporary writer is to be preferred; but that among the moderns, a later writer is almoſt univerſally preferable. The

* Newton's Chron. p. 125. † Ibidem, p. 50.

ancients we credit in proportion to the merit of their *evidence* for what they relate. The moderns we chiefly regard according to their accuracy and diligence in comparing and aſcertaining the evidence they can collect from others. The difference is founded on this conſideration, that for want of memorials of ancient tranſactions, the more time has elapſed after they happened, the more dubious the hiſtory grows. Whereas in modern times, every event of conſequence is inſtantly committed to writing, in ſome form or other, by a thouſand hands. Theſe are brought to light only by degrees; and conſidering that no perſon, or thoſe immediately connected with him, can know the whole of any very complex tranſaction, and moreover that no perſon who writes the hiſtory of his own times can eſcape the influence of prejudice, for or againſt particular perſons and ſchemes; a later writer, who views things with more coolneſs, and has a greater variety of materials to compare, has certainly a great advantage over any that went before him.

Our own hiſtory till the reformation, there can be no doubt, is far better underſtood this century than it was the laſt; and every year brings us acquainted with ſome new memoir concerning the tranſactions of the middle of that, and the beginning of the preſent century. Nay, ſo much weight is due to this conſideration, that we hardly need ſcruple to ſay, notwithſtanding the loſs of many valuable hiſtories, that we have almoſt as perfect a knowledge of the moſt important events of ſeveral periods even in the claſſical hiſtory as the generality of the Greeks and Romans who lived in thoſe periods could attain to. However, with regard to modern times, a cotemporary writer were he entirely free from prejudice, writes under great diſadvantages, in point of *intelligence* only, in compariſon with one

who comes after him; who, with inferior qualifications, will eaſily be able to ſupply his deficiences, if not correct his miſtakes. And it can only be with reſpect to times in which there is a great ſcarcity of materials, and where thoſe have been tranſmitted through the hands of ſeveral dependent evidences, that a contrary rule is to be obſerved.

LECTURE VIII.

Of the indirect Methods of collecting the Knowledge of paſt Events. The Uſe of Books not properly hiſtorical. The Works of Poets, and Orators, and the Remains of Artiſts of all Kinds. Difficulty of a Writer's concealing his Age and Country from a ſagacious Reader. The Fictions of Annius of Viterbo. The hiſtorical Uſe of Cicero's Letters. Several Inſtances of Newton's Sagacity in tracing Events by Means of connected Circumſtances. Uſe of Language to an Hiſtorian, in tracing Revolutions in a State. How far any Circumſtances in the Language of a Country may be a Guide in judging of the original Genius and Manners of the People; exemplified in the Hebrew and Roman Tongues. A curious Obſervation of Mr. Hume's on the Uſe of correlative Terms in Languages. Of Simplicity or Refinement in Languages.

THE methods of recording events which have hitherto been mentioned may be termed *direct*, becauſe they were contrived, and made uſe of, for that purpoſe; and the notices of paſt events with which they furniſh us are the moſt copious ſource of

of Hiſtory in after ages. But there is a variety of other methods in which the knowledge of events, and of the ſituation of things in times paſt, is communicated to us *indirectly*; as from many circumſtances, which do not at all partake of the nature of *records*, perſons of ſagacity and attention will be able to form an idea of the ſtate of things, and to diſtinguiſh the intervals of time, in paſt ages. I ſhall mention a few of theſe, in order to give you ſome idea what a variety of things an accurate hiſtorian muſt attend to, and from what unexpected quarters he may ſometimes receive the greateſt light and information.

In the firſt place, it will eaſily be apprehended, that in order to form a complete idea of characters and events which occur in any period of hiſtory, we are not to confine ourſelves to books profeſſedly hiſtorical. For ſo extenſive is the connexion of things with one another, that every thing written or done, in any period of time, is neceſſarily related, in a thouſand ways, to many other things that were tranſacted at the ſame time; and therefore cannot help bearing ſome marks and traces of thoſe related particulars; and by theſe a perſon of ſagacity will be led to the knowledge of more things than he who tranſmitted the accounts of them intended to ſignify. For this reaſon, to form as complete an idea as poſſible of the ſtate of things in any period of paſt time, we muſt carefully ſtudy all the remains of that time, how foreign ſoever they may at firſt ſight appear to be to our main purpoſe. In this ſenſe, even poets and orators may be conſidered as hiſtorians, and every law and cuſtom as a piece of hiſtory.

To ſo great perfection are men arrived in diſtinguiſhing things that have any real connexion, that the age of almoſt every writing that remains of ancient times is determined with great exactneſs. Indeed, a writer who has no particular deſign to conceal

ceal the time in which he writes, can hardly avoid introducing (in one manner or other) the mention of ſuch particulars as will direct to it; or if he intend to impoſe upon the world, it is a thouſand to one but, if nothing elſe, his *language* and *ſtyle* betray him. Theſe are things which are perfectly mechanical, and leaſt of all at a perſons command; or, however, what few perſons ever think of diſguiſing.

There is no doubt, in particular, but that all the pieces which *Annius* of *Viterbo* endeavoured to palm upon the world as ancient writings have been expoſed; the innumerable fabulous legends about our Saviour, the apoſtles, and many of the popiſh ſaints, which long paſſed current, are now no longer regarded; and the famous *Decretals*, of which the popes availed themſelves ſo much in dark ages, are now acknowledged to be forgeries, even by the papiſts themſelves; while the real productions of antiquity ſtand their ground the firmer from theſe critical examinations; and all the arguments of Pere Harduin (who from ſeeing numberleſs forgeries was led to ſuſpect forgery every where) has not probably been able to make one genuine claſſic author ſuſpected.

A few examples will more clearly ſhow what uſe an attentive hiſtorian may make of books not properly hiſtorical. No hiſtorian now extant, or probably that ever was extant, will give a perſon ſo much inſight into the real characters, and views, of thoſe great men who diſtinguiſhed themſelves in the time of Cicero, as he may get from that collection of letters between Cicero and his friends, which paſs under his name, and particularly from his correſpondence with Atticus. Theſe letters, indeed, are written with ſo few interruptions, and with ſo much freedom, that they contain a pretty regular, and very faithful hiſtory of the moſt active and critical part of his life. They ſhow us,

us, at leaſt, in what light Cicero himſelf, who was a principal actor in that important period, viewed the characters and events of his time. And private *diaries*, and letters, written by perſons who were the chief actors on the theatre of European politics in the laſt century, are daily coming to light, and ſupplying great defects in all our hiſtorians.

Sir Iſaac Newton, from two paſſages in the poems of Theognis of Megara, collects both the age of that writer and the ſituation of the Greeks in his time. That poet exhorts his companions to be unanimous, and to drink and be merry, without fear of the Medes; and he ſays that Magneſia, Colophon, and Smyrna, Grecian cities of Aſia Minor, were deſtroyed by diſcord. From theſe circumſtances he infers that, in the time of this author, Cyrus had conquered thoſe cities of the Greeks in Aſia, that the ſtates of Greece in Europe were under great apprehenſion of being invaded, and that the Perſians had not then aſſumed the ſuperiority over the Medes, which they afterwards did.

The *language* of a people is a great guide to an hiſtorian, both in tracing their origin, and in diſcovering the ſtate of many other important circumſtances belonging to them. Of all cuſtoms and habits, that of *ſpeech*, being the moſt frequently exerciſed, is the moſt confirmed, and leaſt liable to change. Colonies, therefore, will always ſpeak the language of their mother country, unleſs ſome event produce a freer intercourſe with people who ſpeak another language; and even the proportion of that foreign intercourſe may in ſome meaſure be eſtimated by the *degree* of the corruption of the language. A few facts will clearly explain theſe poſitions.

The conſiderable change which the Hebrew language underwent at the time of the Babyloniſh captivity would be ſufficient

to

to inform us, without the aid of any other circumſtance, that few of the old inhabitants remained in the country, and that thoſe who were carried away captive were either much ſeparated from one another, or did not return in great numbers. The few and inconſiderable remains of the Britiſh language in the preſent Engliſh demonſtrates, beyond all contradiction, the havock that was made of the Britons by our Saxon anceſtors, amounting almoſt to a total extirpation and expulſion. And the Saxon language ſpoken in the lowlands of Scotland is a greater proof that they were conquered by the Saxons, than the imperfect and fabulous annals of the Scotch hiſtorians are of the contrary.

But the uſe of language to an hiſtorian is by no means confined to diſcover the origin of a nation, or the greater revolutions that have befallen it. Language takes a tincture from the civil policy, the manners, cuſtoms, employment, and taſte, of the nation that uſes it, by means of which a perſon well verſed in the theory of language will be able to make many curious diſcoveries. An example or two will make this obſervation alſo pretty plain.

It has been obſerved that the frequent alluſions to military affairs, or concealed metaphors borrowed from the art or practice of war in the common forms of ſpeech in the Roman tongue (ſuch as *intervallum*, a term ſignifying *diſtance* ſimply, though borrowed from fortification) and a great many others of the like nature, clearly inform us that the Romans were a people originally addicted to war. Like traces of a paſtoral life, and the buſineſs of huſbandry, are found in the Hebrew language, which is therefore equally characteriſtic of the genius and manner of life of that people. And if we only conſider that all people muſt be under the greateſt neceſſity of inventing terms

terms to expreſs the ideas of things about which they are the moſt early and the moſt frequently converſant, and that theſe terms, preferably to others, are univerſally transferred to things analogous to them (becauſe moſt alluſions will neceſſarily be made to things of the moſt frequent occurrence) this method of tracing the original genius, manners, and employment of a nation, ſubtle as it may at firſt ſight appear, will eaſily be perceived to have a foundation in nature; and we may ſee that, were a language thoroughly examined in this view, many clear and unqueſtionable concluſions of this kind might be drawn from it.

It is obſervable that the word in the Hebrew which ſignifies a *ſtranger*, is derived from another word which ſignifies to *fear*, and that *hoſtis* in Latin originally ſignified both a *ſtranger* and an *enemy*. Are not both theſe circumſtances plain indications that, in the times when thoſe languages were formed, there was little intercourſe between different nations, and that travelling was very hazardous?

From the following curious obſervation on the nature and progreſs of language, Mr. Hume, with great ingenuity, and appearance of reaſon, argues that population was little encouraged by the Romans among their ſlaves. In all languages, when two related parts of *a whole* bear any ſenſible proportion to each other, in numbers, rank, or conſideration, there are always *correlative terms* invented, which anſwer to both of the parts, and expreſs their mutual relation; whereas if they bear no ſenſible proportion to each other, a name is invented for the leſs only, and no particular term is thought of to diſtinguiſh the more conſiderable part from the other. Thus *man* and *woman*, *maſter* and *ſervant*, *prince* and *ſubject*, *ſtranger* and *citizen*, are correlative terms in all languages, indicating that each part ſignified by them bears a conſiderable proportion to

the other, that both are frequently mentioned in oppoſition to one another, and are often compared together. But *Verna*, the Latin name for a *ſlave born in the family*, has no correlative; which clearly indicates that that ſpecies of ſlaves bore no ſenſible proportion to the reſt, and would not bear to be compared with them.

By the ſame method of reaſoning, we infer that the military part of ancient Rome bore a greater proportion to the huſbandmen than they do among us, becauſe with them the terms *miles* and *paganus* were correlative; and that the *prieſts* of Rome were never conſidered as a part of the community diſtinct from the reſt, becauſe there is not in Latin any term to denote the *laity*, in oppoſition to the *clergy*, as there is in all chriſtian countries.

It may juſt be mentioned in this place, that copiouſneſs and refinement in language always keep pace with improvements in the arts and conveniencies of life, and with the progreſs of ſcience in a country. Diſcoveries of other kinds, made by the medium of language might be mentioned, but theſe are ſufficient to ſhow of what importance the ſtudy of language may be to a perſon who would get a thorough inſight into the hiſtory, the genius, and the manners of a people.

LECTURE IX.

Connexion of Hiſtory and Law. The ſtate of paternal and filial Affection among the Romans, as ſeen by the Tenor of the Civil Law. Cuſtoms and general Maxims of the ſame Uſe as Laws. Uſe of Laws in tracing the original Genius and Manner of Life of a People. Change in Laws correſponding with a Change of Manners, exemplified in the feudal Syſtem in England. Simplicity or intricacy of Law. Hale's Inferences from a Law of Canute's.

THE *laws* of a country are neceſſarily connected with every thing belonging to the people of it; ſo that a thorough knowledge of them, and of their progreſs, would inform us of every thing that was moſt uſeful to be known about them; and one of the greateſt imperfections of hiſtorians in general is owing to their ignorance of law. Indeed hardly any perſon, except a native, can come at an intimate knowledge of the laws of any country. But it is greatly to be lamented that things ſo nearly connected as *law* and *hiſtory* ſhould have been ſo ſeldom joined. For though the hiſtory of battles and ſtate intrigues be more engaging to the bulk of readers, who have no reliſh for any thing but what intereſts the *paſſions*; from the knowledge of the progreſs of laws, and changes of conſtitution, in a ſtate, a politician may derive more uſeful information, and a philoſopher more rational entertainment, than from any other object he can attend to. I ſhall mention a few particulars, by way of illuſtration of what I have now advanced.

As every new law is made to remove ſome inconvenience the ſtate was ſubject to before the making of it, and for which no other method of redreſs was effectual, the law itſelf is a ſtanding, and the moſt authentic, evidence we can require of the ſtate of things previous to it. Indeed, from the time that laws began to be written in ſome regular form, the preamble to each of them is often an hiſtorical account of the evil intended to be remedied by it, as is the caſe with many of our ſtatutes. But a ſagacious hiſtorian has little occaſion for any preamble to laws. They ſpeak ſufficiently plain of themſelves.

When we read that a law was made by Clothaire king of France, that no perſon ſhould be condemned without being heard, do we need being told that before the time of the enacting that law the adminiſtration of juſtice was very irregular in that country, and that a man could have little ſecurity for his liberty, property, or life? Is it not a proof that the ſpirit of hoſpitality began to decline among the Burgundians as they grew more civilized, when there was occaſion for a law to puniſh any Burgundian who ſhould ſhow a ſtranger to the houſe of a Roman, inſtead of entertaining him himſelf.

It is but an unfavourable idea that we form of the ſtate of paternal and filial affection among the Romans, from the tenor of their laws, which ſhow an extreme anxiety to reſtrain parents from doing injuſtice to their own children. Children (ſay their laws) are not to be diſinherited without juſt cauſe, chiefly that of ingratitude, the cauſe muſt be ſet forth in the teſtament; it muſt be tried by the judge, and verified by witneſſes, if denied. Whereas among other nations natural affection, without the aid of law, is a ſufficient motive with parents to do no injuſtice to their children. A knowledge of another part of the political conſtitution of the Romans will probably

probably help us to a reaſon for the uncommon defect of natural affection among them. The *Patria Poteſtas* was in reality the power of a maſter over a ſlave, the very knowledge, and idea, of which, though it were not often exerciſed, was enough to produce ſeverity in parents, and fear and diffidence in children, which muſt deſtroy mutual confidence and affection.

Cuſtoms, and general maxims of conduct, being of the nature of unwritten laws, give us the ſame inſight into the ſtate of things in a country. The high eſteem in which hoſpitality is held by the Arabs, and the religious, and even ſuperſtitious practice of it by them, and by other ſavage nations, ſhews the great want there is of that virtue in thoſe countries, and that travelling is particularly dangerous in them.

The laws and cuſtoms of a country ſhow clearly what was the manner of living and the occupation of the original inhabitants of it. Thus where we find that the eldeſt ſons ſucceed to the whole, or the greateſt part of the eſtate, we may be ſure that we ſee traces of feudal nations, of a military life, and a monarchical government; in which a prince is better ſerved by one powerful vaſſal than by ſeveral weak ones. Where the children ſucceed equally, it is a mark of a ſtate having been addicted to huſbandry, and inclined to a popular equal government. And where the youngeſt ſucceeds, we may take it for granted that the people formerly lived a paſtoral and roving life, in which it is natural for the oldeſt to be provided for, and diſpoſed of, the firſt, and the youngeſt to take what is left; a manner of life which requires, and admits of, little or no regular government.

The change of manners, and way of living, may be traced in the changes of the laws. Thus the change from a military to a commercial ſtate may be traced in England by the progreſs of our laws, particularly thoſe relating to the alienation of landed property;

property; a thing abſolutely inconſiſtent with ſtrict feudal notions, and for a long time impracticable in this country; but which took place by degrees, as the intereſts of commerce were perceived to require, that every thing valuable ſhould circulate as freely as poſſible in a ſtate. It muſt, however, be conſidered, that the change of laws does not keep an equal pace with the change of manners, but follows ſometimes far behind. In almoſt every caſe, the reaſon and neceſſity of the thing firſt introduces a change in the *practice*, before the authority of *law* confirms and authoriſes it. This too is eaſy to be traced in a great many of our Engliſh laws, and particularly thoſe which relate to the eaſy transferring of property, for the purpoſe of trade and commerce.

Without entering into particular laws, we may obſerve of the ſtate of laws in general, as was obſerved with regard to language, that copiouſneſs and refinement in them, and even intricacy and tediouſneſs in the adminiſtration of them, is an indication of freedom, and of improvements in civilized life; and that few laws, and an expeditious adminiſtration, are marks either of the connexions of perſons being very few, and little involved (which is a neceſſary conſequence of improvements) that the rights of perſons have not been attended to, and that the nation is but little advanced in the knowledge or poſſeſſion of thoſe things on which their happineſs and ſecurity chiefly depend; or that too arbitrary a power is lodged in ſome hands or other; it being well obſerved by Monteſquieu, that the tediouſneſs and expence of law ſuits is the price of liberty.

To make you ſenſible with what attention laws ſhould be conſidered, and how many diſtinct circumſtances a perſon of ſagacity may learn from them; I ſhall quote the obſervations which Lord Chief Juſtice Hale, makes upon a law of

king Canute, which is as follows in Lambard's collection: *Sive quis incuria, ſive morte repentina fuerit inteſtato mortuus, dominus tamen nullam rerum ſuarum partem, preter eam quæ jure debetur hereoti nomine, ſibi aſſumito; verum eas, juditio ſuos, uxori, liberis, et cognationi proximis juſte, pro ſuo cuique jure, diſtribuito.* "If any "perſon dying by accident, or ſuddenly, ſhall be inteſtate, let "not the lord take any part of his goods, except what may be "due to him as a *heriot*; but let him, uſing his beſt judgment, "diſtribute them to his wife, children, and neareſt relations, "according to their reſpective claims."

Upon this he obſerves five things, 1. That in thoſe times the wife had a ſhare as well of the lands, as of the goods for her dower; 2. That, in reference to hereditary ſucceſſions, there ſeemed to be little difference between lands and goods; for this law makes no diſtinction; 3. That there was a kind of ſettled right of ſucceſſion with reference to proximity and remoteneſs of blood or kin; 4. That with reſpect to children, they all ſeemed to ſucceed alike without any diſtinction between males and females; 5. That the anceſtor, however, might diſpoſe of his lands, as well as goods, by will.

LECT.

LECTURE X.

The Uſe of Obſervations on the Intervals between the Generations of Men and Succeſſions of Kings, to aſcertain the Dates of paſt Events. The Antiquity of theſe Methods of noting Intervals of Time. Fallacious Method of computing by them. Eaſy Correction of that Fallacy; by which Newton has amended the Chronology of ancient Kingdoms and Nations. The Interval between the Return of the Heraclidæ and the Battle of Thermopylæ determined by Succeſſions: The ſame Interval aſcertained by Generations. The Time of the Argonautic Expedition determined by two Courſes of Generation. Extravagance of the Greek Chronology. Improbable Circumſtances in the commonly received Chronology of Rome. The Time of the Siege of Troy comes to be the ſame, computing by Succeſſions in Italy, and by Succeſſions and Generations in Greece; and is agreeable to what Appian writes from the Archives of Carthage.

MANY Obſervations on the common courſe of human life will enable us to determine the intervals of time within which events connected with them have happened. Thoſe of which the moſt uſe has been made are obſervations on *generations of men*, and *ſucceſſions of kings*. For inſtance, when we read in hiſtory, or collect from circumſtances, that a certain number of generations intervened between any two events, or that a certain number of kings reigned in the interval, we ſhall be able to fix the date of the former with reſpect to the latter, if we have carefully obſerved (from comparing a ſufficient number of facts) what

what has been the mean length of a generation, and the mean length of a reign; or at what age men taken, one with another, have had children, and how long kings, in general, have actually reigned.

The uſe of theſe mediums of proof has been acknowledged from the earlieſt writing of hiſtory; and, indeed, ſo obvious is the thought, that the chronology of all the ancient times of the Grecian hiſtory was adjuſted by their oldeſt writers upon theſe principles alone. The misfortune is, that they took their mean length of a *generation*, and alſo that of a *ſucceſſion* from mere random and fanciful conjectures and not from a careful obſervation of facts. But it is happy that, though theſe writers have fixed the chronology of ancient times by a fallacious theory, a ſufficient number of the facts, to which their theory ought to have correſponded, ſtill remains; by means of which it is eaſy to reform their theory, and rectify their chronology. Indeed, it is a happy circumſtance, that every theory drawn from the ſituation of things in *human life*, is always open to confutation or correction, while the courſe of human life remains the ſame. It is but obſerving how things really are, and whether the theory in queſtion actually correſpond to it, or not.

It is upon theſe principles chiefly that Sir Iſaac Newton has undertaken to rectify the chronology of ancient ſtates and kingdoms; and for examples to theſe obſervations, I ſhall lay before you the evidence on which his admirable theory reſts. In order to this, I ſhall ſtate the principal of thoſe facts the chronology of which has been ſo variouſly repreſented; ſhowing how incompatible with the courſe of nature are the dates that have formerly been aſſigned to them, and which paſſed without examination till the time of this great author, and

upon what principles he has reduced their extravagant chronology within the bounds of nature and probability.

In order to have a clearer idea of the connexion of his proofs, I muſt obſerve that the great events, the intervals of which he endeavours to aſcertain, ſucceeded each other in the following order:

The Argonautic expedition.

The ſiege of Troy.

The return of the Heraclidæ into Peloponneſus.

The firſt Meſſenian war.

The expedition of Xerxes.

The Peloponneſian war.

Between the return of the Heraclidæ into Peloponneſus and the battle of Thermopylæ (of the time of which there is no controverſy) there reigned, of one race the following kings of Lacedæmon, Euriſthenes, Agis, Echeſtratus, Labotas, Doriagus, Ageſilaus, Archelaus, Teleclus, Alchimenes, Polidorus, Euricrates, Anaxander, Euricratides, Leon, Anaxandrides, Cleomenes, and Leonidas, ſeventeen in all, and along with theſe was a ſucceſſion of ſeventeen alſo in the other race. In this interval, therefore, we have a double ſucceſſion of ſeventeen kings. Now, by comparing the chronology of almoſt all the ſucceſſions which have been perfectly aſcertained, Sir Iſaac Newton finds that kings have reigned one with another eighteen or twenty years a piece; and if in any caſe they have exceeded that number of years, it was not in ſuch unſettled times as were thoſe of the Grecian monarchies.

The ſeventeen princes, therefore, according to this computation, allowing them twenty years a piece, which is quite as much as the nature of things will admit of, muſt have reigned three hundred and forty years. Theſe, counted backwards from the

the ſixth year of Xerxes, and allowing one or two years more for the war of Heraclidæ, and the reign of Ariſtodemus, the father of Euriſthenes and Proclus, will place the return of the Heraclidæ into Peloponneſus one hundred and fifty-nine years after the death of Solomon, and forty-ſix before the firſt Olympiad in which Choræbus was victor. But Timæus and his followers have taken the reigns of kings for generations, and reckoned three generations at one hundred, and ſometimes one hundred and twenty years; and ſo have aſſigned thirty-five or forty years to each king, and accordingly have placed the return of the Heraclidæ two hundred and eighty years earlier than the nature of things can poſſibly admit.

Other facts, with which we are furniſhed by theſe very chronologers, and other ancient writers, enable us to confirm the truth of the preceding interval of time by a different medium of proof. If we conſider the courſe of deſcent in a ſufficient number of families, we ſhall find that the interval from father to ſon, is one with another, thirty-three or thirty-four years a piece, and that the intervals between the eldeſt ſons and chiefs of families (ſuch as are moſt taken notice of by hiſtorians) are not more than twenty-eight or thirty years, one with another.

The reaſon why a longer interval is aſſigned to *generations of men* than to *ſucceſſions of kings*, is becauſe kings are ſucceeded not only by their ſons, but ſometimes by their brothers; and ſometimes they are ſlain or depoſed, and are ſucceeded by others of an equal age, or even a greater age than themſelves, and eſpecially in elective or turbulent kingdoms.

Admitting the above to be the mean length of generations, if we multiply the number of generations which intervened between any two events by thirty-three or thirty-four, for generations in general, and by twenty-eight or thirty for generations

by the eldeſt ſons, we ſhall probably determine the interval with tolerable exactneſs: and when concluſions from this method of computation coincide with thoſe from the other by ſucceſſions of kings, they cannot but be allowed to confirm one another. This we are able to do with reſpect to the greater part of the preceding interval.

From the return of the Heraclidæ to the beginning of the firſt Meſſenian war, there reigned ten kings of Sparta in one race, nine in the other, ten of Meſſene, and nine of Arcadia. Theſe ſucceſſions, if reduced to the courſe of nature, in the method directed above, will ſcarce take up one hundred and eighty, or one hundred and ninety years; whereas according to chronologers in general, they took up a ſpace of three hundred and ſeventy-nine years. But that one hundred and eighty, or one hundred and ninety years, is the moſt probable interval, appears by an argument drawn from a courſe of generations during the very ſame period.

Euryleon the ſon of Æugeus commanded the main body of the Meſſenians, in the fifth year of the firſt Meſſenian war, and he was in the fifth generation from Oiolochus the ſon of Theras, brother-in-law of Ariſtodemus, and tutor to his ſons Euriſthenes and Proclus, as Pauſanias relates. Conſequently from the return of the Heraclidæ, which was in the days of Theras, to the battle, which was in the fifth year of this war, there were ſix generations, which being (as is moſt probable) chiefly by the eldeſt ſons, will ſcarce exceed thirty years to a generation, and ſo may amount to one hundred and ſeventy, or one hundred and eighty years. That war laſted nineteen or twenty years, of which add the laſt fifteen years to the five mentioned before, and there will be about one hundred and ninety years to the end of that war; the very length of the ſame interval, as determined by the preceding obſervations on the ſucceſſions of kings. But

the followers of Timæus, by making this interval about three hundred and ſeventy-nine years, muſt allow above ſixty years to a generation, which can by no means be ſuppoſed.

To illuſtrate more at large the method of arguing from generations, and at the ſame time to proceed a little farther in giving the outlines of this author's great reformation in ancient chronology, I ſhall relate two other courſes of generations, which fix the time of the Argonautic expedition, an event, which is the grand hinge on which all the chronology of ancient Greece turns, and the date of which, as determined by generations, you will preſently ſee confirmed by another method of inveſtigation on very different principles.

One of theſe courſes of generations extends backwards from the return of the Heraclidæ, where our laſt courſe began, to the expedition, and the other from the Peloponneſian war to the ſame event. Hercules the Argonaut was the father of Hillus, the father of Cleodeus, the father of Ariſtomachus, the father of Temenus, Creſphontes, and Ariſtodemus, who led the Heraclidæ into Peloponneſus; whence their return was four generations later than the Argonautic expedition; and theſe generations were ſhort ones, being by the chief of the family. Count therefore eighty years backward, from the return of the Heraclidæ to the Trojan war, and the taking of Troy will be about ſeventy-ſix years after the death of Solomon; and the Argonautic expedition, which was one generation earlier, will be about forty-three years after it.

Æſculapius and Hercules were Argonauts, and Hippocrates was the eighteenth incluſively, by the father's ſide, from Æſculapius, and the nineteenth from Hercules by the mother's ſide; and becauſe theſe generations, being taken notice of by writers, were moſt probably by the principal of the family, and ſo for the

the moſt part by the eldeſt ſons, we may reckon about twenty-eight, or at the moſt about thirty years to a generation; and thus the ſeventeen intervals by the father's ſide, and the eighteen by the mother's, at a middle reckoning, amount to about five hundred and ſeven years; which, counted backwards from the beginning of the Peloponneſian war, at which time Hippocrates began to flouriſh, will reach up to the forty-third year after the death of Solomon, and there place the Argonautic expedition; the very year in which we were led to place it by following the former courſe of generations.

The ſame great author aſcertains this, and ſeveral other capital events in the Grecian hiſtory, by ſuch a variety of independent arguments, drawn from the ſame and different mediums, all ſo agreeable to the preſent courſe of nature, that it ſeems impoſſible for a perſon who pays a ſufficient regard to it not to be determined by them. It is ſurpriſing, indeed, that the manifeſt inconſiſtencies of the commonly received chronology with the courſe of nature ſhould not have prevented the eſtabliſhment of it; and it is abſolutely unaccountable, but upon the willingneſs of all men, to admit of any hypotheſis which tends to give dignity to their nations and families, by adding to the antiquity of them. But muſt it not be a more unaccountable attachment to eſtabliſhed hypotheſes which can induce any perſons of the preſent age, after theſe inconſiſtencies have been ſo clearly pointed out, ſtill to adhere to a chronology, which, in thoſe turbulent unſettled times, ſuppoſes kings to have reigned one with another in ſome ſucceſſions thirty-five, in ſome thirty-eight, in ſome forty, in ſome forty-two, in ſome forty-four, and in ſome forty-ſix years a piece; and which generally allows about ſixty years to a generation, and in one inſtance eighty-five?

With reſpect to the chronology of the kings of Rome, Mr. Hooke has ſhown by ſeveral independent arguments, drawn from the connexion of events in the hiſtory of their reigns, that to ſuppoſe them to have reigned one with another nineteen or twenty years makes a more conſiſtent ſeries of facts, than to imagine them to have reigned thirty-five years a piece, which is the common hypotheſis.

The chief inconveniences attending the old chronology in the Roman hiſtory are, that it ſuppoſes an interval of ſixty-three years of peace in that reſtleſs nation before the acceſſion of Tullus Hoſtilius. It makes the reign of Servius Tullius ſo long in proportion to the few Cenſuſes, which (according to the moſt authentic records were taken in his reign) as would argue a moſt unaccountable neglect of his own favourite inſtitution. It obliges us to ſuppoſe Tarquinius Superbus not to have been the ſon of Tarquinius Priſcus, Dido not to have been cotemporary with Æneas, or Numa with Pythagoras, as well as Solon with Croeſus in the Grecian hiſtory; all which have the unanimous voice of all tradition in their favour, and which Dionyſius Halicarnaſſenſis, Livy, and Plutarch expreſs their extreme unwillingneſs to give up, but that they were compelled to it by a regard to a chronology which in their times was unqueſtioned. Indeed, the congreſs of Solon and Croeſus Plutarch expreſſes his determination not to give up, notwithſtanding his general attachment to a theory which would not admit of it, and the fallacy of which he did not ſuſpect. His words are ſo remarkable, and ſhow ſo clearly on how precarious a footing that chronology ſtands, that I ſhall recite them, "The congreſs of Solon with Croeſus ſome think "they can confute by chronology. But a hiſtory ſo illuſtri-"ous, verified by ſo many witneſſes, and, which is more, ſo

"agreeable

" agreeable to the manner of Solon, and worthy of the great-
" neſs of his mind and of his wiſdom, I cannot perſuade
" myſelf to reject becauſe of ſome chronological canons, as
" they call them; which an hundred authors correcting, have
" not been able to conſtitute any thing certain, and have not
" been able to agree amongſt themſelves about repugnances."

Beſides, to return to the Roman hiſtory; if the number of kings that reigned at Alba be joined to thoſe who reigned at Rome, and they be allowed to have reigned nineteen or twenty years a piece, they will place the coming of Æneas into Italy, and the ſiege of Troy, exactly in the time in which arguments drawn from generations and ſucceſſions in Greece, as well as aſtronomical calculations (as will hereafter appear) place that event, which is a reciprocal confirmation of the juſt correction both of the Greek and Latin chronology. For from Latinus to Numitor are ſixteen kings, who reigned at Alba; Romulus was contemporary with Numitor, and after him Dionyſius and other hiſtorians reckon ſix kings more at Rome to the beginning of the conſuls. Now theſe twenty-two reigns, at about eighteen years to a reign one with another (for many of theſe kings were ſlain) took up three hundred and ninety-ſix years, which counted back from the conſulſhip of J. Brutus and Valerius Poplicola, the two firſt conſuls, place the Trojan war ſeventy-eight years after the death of Solomon.

This computation likewiſe agrees with what Appian in his hiſtory of the Punic wars relates, out of the archives of Carthage, which came into the hands of the Romans, viz. that Carthage ſtood ſeven hundred years. This is a round number, but Solinus adds the odd years when he ſays, Carthago poſt annos 737 quam fuerat extructa exciditur, which places Dido, the founder of Carthage, about ſeventy-ſix years after the death of Solomon.

Solomon. It likewiſe agrees with the Arundelian Marbles, which ſay that Teucer came to Cyprus ſeven years after the deſtruction of Troy, and built Salamis, in the days of Dido. Indeed, it is an argument greatly in favour of Newton's computations, that they agree very nearly with all the moſt ancient *monuments*, the moſt current *traditions* of antiquity, and the *oldeſt hiſtorians*; particularly Herodotus and Thucydides, who wrote before chronology was corrupted by the vanity of their nation, or the abſurd ſyſtems of later hiſtorians.

It is an argument greatly in favour of the credibility of the Old Teſtament hiſtory, that the courſes of generations and deſcents which are mentioned in it, parallel to thoſe in the fabulous period of the Grecian hiſtory, fall within the ſame intervals of time with thoſe which have been meaſured ſince hiſtory has been authentic. Conſequently, it is another argument in favour of Newton's correction of the ancient Greek chronology, that it brings the courſes of generations and ſucceſſions in the one to correſpond to thoſe in the other. Beſides, in ſeveral other reſpects it brings them to a greater harmony than can be made out upon any other principles. Particularly it places the expedition of Seſoſtris (who as it is highly probable from ſeveral circumſtances, was the ſame perſon with Seſac) in the very time in which it is ſpoken of in the ſcriptures.

LECTURE XI.

The Time of paſt Events aſcertained by Means of celeſtial Appearances. The certainty of the Method of Computation by Eclipſes. A few ancient Eclipſes enumerated. The Uſe of them exemplified in the Calculation of an ancient Eclipſe of the Moon.

OF all the incidental circumſtances by which ancient writers enable us, in an *indirect* manner, to aſcertain the time of events, none give occaſion to more clear and undeniable concluſions than the mention they make of *celeſtial appearances*, on account of the regularity and conſtancy of the revolutions of the heavenly bodies, and becauſe the laws of their motions are ſo exactly known to us. In this reſpect much are modern chronologers and hiſtorians obliged to the ſuperſtition with which the ancients regarded unuſual appearances in the heavens. It was their imagined portentous nature that firſt drew upon them the attention of mankind, who dreaded their unknown influences and effects. It was on this account, and not becauſe they were conſidered as proper ſubjects of philoſophical inquiry, or of any uſe in chronology, that they have engaged the notice of hiſtorians. And fortunately for us, the catalogue of ancient eclipſes, not obſerved by philoſophers, but gazed at

by the ſuperſtitious vulgar, is pretty full. Along with the hiſtory of many remarkable revolutions, and critical ſituations in the hiſtory of ſtates, the eclipſes which preceded, or accompanied them, are faithfully tranſmitted to us; and where the time, the place, and quantity of an eclipſe are mentioned, though not with aſtronomical exactneſs, it is very eaſy, by the rules of calculation, to fix the very year and day when the event happened. For conſidering the prodigious variety which the three circumſtances of *time*, *place*, and *quantity* occaſion in the appearance of eclipſes, there is no room to ſuſpect that any two, happening within a moderate diſtance of one another, can be in the leaſt danger of being confounded.

For the entertainment of thoſe who take pleaſure in calculations of this kind, I ſhall juſt quote, from Mr. Ferguſon's aſtronomy, ſome of the principal eclipſes that have been taken notice of by hiſtorians, that you may verify them at your leiſure.

Before Chriſt 585 May 28, an eclipſe of the ſun, foretold by Thales, by which a peace was brought about between the Medes and the Lydians.

B. C. 523 July 16, an eclipſe of the moon, which was followed by the death of Cambyſes.

B. C. 481 April 19, an eclipſe of the ſun, on the ſailing of Xerxes from Sardis.

B. C. 463, an eclipſe of the ſun followed by the Perſian war, and the falling off of the Egyptians from the Perſians.

B. C. 431 Auguſt 31, a total eclipſe of the ſun, and a comet; followed by a plague at Athens.

B. C. 413 Auguſt 27, a total eclipſe of the moon, when Nicias was defeated at Syracuſe.

B. C 394 Auguſt 14, an eclipſe of the ſun, when the Perſians were beaten by Conon in a ſea engagement.

B. C. 168 June 21, a total eclipſe of the moon, and the next day Perſeus king of Macedonia was conquered by Paulus Æmilius.

After Chriſt 59 April 30, an eclipſe of the ſun, reckoned by Nero among the prodigies on account of the death of Agrippina.

A. C. 306 July 27, an eclipſe of the ſun; the ſtars were ſeen and the Emperor Conſtantius died.

A. C. 840 May 4, a great eclipſe of the ſun, and Lewis the Pius died within ſix months after it.

A C. 1009 an eclipſe of the ſun, and Jeruſalem taken by the Saracens

To exemplify the uſe of eclipſes for the purpoſes of chronology, I ſhall ſelect from the above-mentioned, one of the moon, and ſhow how the date of the event which accompanied it is aſcertained by the help of it.

The eclipſe of the moon, which I ſhall ſelect, and the circumſtances attending it are thus related by Thucydides, L. 7. ſect. 50. Upon the arrival of Gylippus to the aſſiſtance of the Syracuſans, the Athenians, finding they were no match for the united force of their enemies, repented that they had not quitted their ſituation (in which it was no longer ſafe for them to continue) before, and immediately came to a reſolution to ſail out of the harbour as ſecretly as poſſible. But when every thing was ready for ſailing the moon was eclipſed, for it was then full moon. Upon this, moſt of the Athenians, alarmed at the omen, deſired their commanders to proceed no farther; and Nicias, being himſelf a ſuperſtitious obſerver of ſuch prodigies,

digies, declared that he would not come to any final reſolution about quitting the place till they had ſtaid three days longer, according to the advice of the ſoothſayers. This occaſioned the Athenians to ſtay in the place, which they had never after an opportunity of leaving, and in which they almoſt to a man periſhed.

This event is placed by hiſtorians in the year B. C. 413, and upon looking into the aſtronomical tables, it appears that, ſhe was at the full about midnight at London, or one o'clock in the morning at Syracuſe on the 27th of Auguſt in that year; when the ſun was only forty degrees forty-eight minutes from the node, far within twelve degrees the limit of Lunar eclipſes; and when, conſequently, there muſt have been a total eclipſe of the moon, which would be viſible to the Athenians from the beginning to the end of it, and may therefore reaſonably be ſuppoſed to have produced the effect aſcribed to it by the hiſtorian.

A hiſtory which contains an account of a ſufficient number of theſe phænomena furniſhes us with the ſureſt teſt of its authenticity. Almoſt all the credit which is given to the Chineſe hiſtory is derived from this conſideration. The eclipſes there mentioned to have happened, aſtronomers ſay, did really happen at the times aſſigned to them*.

The theory of comets is not ſufficiently aſcertained to enable us to make much uſe of their revolutions for hiſtorical purpoſes; nor indeed are there any events they accompanied, which we cannot determine much more nearly by other mediums of proof,

* I made this lecture a ſhort one, becauſe I uſed to produce in the courſe of it calculations of ſeveral paſt eclipſes, to illuſtrate the principles of it.

than,

than, it is probable, we could have done by the help of comets, were their theory ever ſo well aſcertained. Their returns are probably, not ſufficiently regular, nor if they were, are the accounts of them in hiſtorians ſufficiently exact for that purpoſe.

LECTURE XII.

Of the Uſe which Newton has made of Obſervations on the Preceſſion of the Equinoxes in rectifying ancient Chronology. The Time of the Argonautic Expedition determined by that Means. The Date of ſeveral ſubſequent Events determined by the ſame Means, in perfect Conſiſtence with one another. A Conjecture concerning the Age of an old Sphere in the Muſeum of the Farneſian Palace. The Age of Heſiod determined pretty nearly from his Account of the heliacal riſing and ſetting of ſome Stars. The Uſe of the Books of the Old Teſtament for rectifying the Heathen Chronology. The Uſe it was of to Newton in particular.

THE calculations of eclipſes are of great uſe in aſcertaining particular events, if they have been previouſly determined within a moderate diſtance; but the grand aſtronomical medium which Sir Iſaac Newton has ſo ſucceſsfully employed in rectifying the whole ſyſtem of ancient chronology, is the *preceſſion of the equinoxes*. The quantity of this preceſſion is known,

known, by a ſeries of the moſt accurate obſervations, to be one degree backwards in ſeventy-two years; that is, the ſun croſſes the eclyptic ſo much more to the weſt every year, that at the end of ſeventy-two years his progreſs weſtward amounts to one degree, whereby the places of the equinoxes are continually receding from the conſtellations, in the middle of which they were originally placed. Whenever, therefore, the ſituation of the equinoctial or ſolſtitial points, or any appearance depending upon them, is mentioned, it is eaſy to aſcertain the time of any event with which ſuch an appearance was connected. It is done by obſerving how many degrees the equinoctial points have receded from the ſituation they then had to that which they have at preſent, and allowing ſeventy-two years to every degree.

That the conſtellations were firſt invented at the time of the Argonautic expedition, is pretty evident from a variety of conſiderations. We have not only the teſtimony of ſeveral ancient writers for the fact, but the conſtellations themſelves ſeem very plainly to declare as much. For the old conſtellations mentioned by Aratus, do all of them relate either to the Argonauts themſelves, and their cotemporaries, or to perſons one or two generations older; and nothing later than that expedition was delineated there originally. It is, therefore, very probable (as ſeveral ancient writers aſſert) that the firſt ſphere was invented by Chiron and Muſæus for the uſe of the Argonauts.

We have, moreover, the teſtimony of ſeveral ancient writers that the equinoctial and ſolſtitial points in this old ſphere were placed upon the middle of the conſtellations that give names to them; namely, that the equinoctial colure was made to paſs through the middle of the conſtellation Aries, and the ſolſtitial colure through the middle of Cancer. Beſides, the reaſon of

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the thing might reaſonably lead us to imagine, that the ancients would place the equinoxes and ſolſtices as nearly in the midſt of their reſpective conſtellations as their coarſe obſervations would enable them to determinate. For ſince the firſt month of their lunar-ſolar year, by reaſon of their intercalary month, began ſometimes a week or a fortnight before the equinox or ſolſtice, and ſometimes as much after it, the firſt aſtronomers, who formed the aſteriſms, would naturally endeavour to place thoſe grand diviſions of the year, the equinoxes and ſolſtices, as near as they could in the middle of the conſtellations Aries, Cancer, Chelæ, and Capricorn.

Admitting the colures to have paſſed through the middle of thoſe conſtellations at the time of the Argonautic expedition, Sir Iſaac Newton finds that the equinoctial and ſolſtitial points had gone back thirty-ſix degrees forty-four minutes at the end of the year one thouſand ſix hundred and eighty-nine; which, allowing ſeventy-two years to each degree, would have been accompliſhed in the ſpace of two thouſand ſix hundred and forty-five years. This number, counted back from the year one thouſand ſix hundred and eighty-nine, will place the Argonautic expedition about twenty-five years after the death of Solomon.

This computation proceeds upon the ſuppoſition that the middle of the conſtellation is exactly the middle point between the two ſtars called *prima Arietis*, and *ultima Caudæ*, but if we fix the cardinal points by the ſtars through which the colures paſſed in the primitive ſphere, as deſcribed by Eudoxus, which ſeems to be better, the equinoctial points will have receded thirty-ſix degrees twenty-nine minutes, which anſwers to two thouſand ſix hundred and twenty-ſeven years, and places the expedition forty-three years after the death of Solomon, very near

near the ſame year to which it was referred by the other preceding, and very different, methods of computation; the very near and remarkable coincidence of which is the greateſt confirmation of the certainty of both thoſe methods of inveſtigation.

What gives great weight to this argument from the preceſſion of the equinoxes is, that if we reckon from whatever time the poſition of the equinoctial points hath been mentioned by aſtronomers whoſe age is known, this motion, counted backwards, fixes that great event in the ſame year. It likewiſe demonſtrates that the obſervations of the ancients, though coarſe enough, as Sir Iſaac acknowledges, are ſufficiently exact for the purpoſe. As this circumſtance is pretty remarkable, I ſhall mention the particulars of it.

According to Pliny, and the calculations of Petavius, Thales, who wrote a book of the tropics and equinoxes, fixed the equinoxes and ſolſtices in the eleventh degree of their reſpective ſigns; ſo that they had receded four degrees twenty-ſix minutes and fifty-two ſeconds, from their original place at the time of the Argonautic expedition. This anſwers to three hundred and twenty years, and calculated backwards from the forty-firſt Olympiad (when Thales was a young man, fit to apply to aſtronomical ſtudies) will place that event forty-four years after the death of Solomon.

According to Columella, Meton, and Euctemon, who publiſhed the lunar Cycle of nineteen years, and for this purpoſe obſerved the ſummer ſolſtice in the year of Nabonaſſar three hundred and ſixteen, the year before the Peloponneſian war began, placed the ſummer ſolſtice in the eighth degree of Cancer, which is at leaſt ſeven degrees more backwards than at

firſt. This ſpace anſwers to five hundred and four years, which, counted backwards from the year of obſervation, makes the expedition fall upon the forty-fourth year after the death of Solomon.

Laſtly, Hipparchus, who firſt diſcovered that the equinoxes had a regular motion backwards, made his obſervations about the year of Nabonaſſar ſix hundred and two, and fixed the vernal equinox in the fourth degree of Aries. Conſequently, the equinoctial points had gone back eleven degrees ſince the Argonautic expedition, which is equivalent to ſeven hundred and ninety-two years, and which counted backwards places the expedition in the forty-third year after the death of Solomon.

Theſe four coincidences are remarkable, and could not have placed the ſame event ſo near the ſame year, unleſs all the obſervations had been ſufficiently exact. And when we conſider the coincidencies of a great many more independent evidences, derived from the courſe of generation, and the order of ſucceſſion, with thoſe which are borrowed from aſtronomical principles, nothing ſeems to be better eſtabliſhed, than that the Argonautic expedition, an event on which all the Greek chronology depends, really happened about forty-three years after the death of Solomon, and not in the days of Gideon, above three hundred years before, as has been the common opinion.

It may be obſerved in this place, that the error of Hipparchus with reſpect to the quantity of the preceſſion, is a proof that the chronology of Greece before his time was erroneous, and wanted correction. He makes it to be one degree in about one hundred years, which he was neceſſarily led to conclude from the lengthening of the intervals of obſervation by the received chronology; and therefore the

diſcovery that the preceſſion of the equinoxes is only at the rate of ſeventy-two years to a degree, furniſhes us with a good reaſon why we ought to ſhorten the time before Hipparchus in about the ſame proportion.

By arguments drawn from the rate of the preceſſion of the equinoxes we can nearly determine the age of an *old globe* found in the ruins of ancient Rome, and which is now preſerved in the muſeum of the Farneſian palace, as one of the moſt curious monuments of antiquity. On this globe the equinoctial colure paſſes through the right horn and right foot of Aries, and is about five degrees diſtant from the equinoctial point laid down on the globe. From theſe circumſtances it will appear, that this globe was made about forty years before Chriſt; and, it is moreover probable, from the conſtruction of this globe, that the colure paſſed through the bright ſtar of Aries about four hundred years before Chriſt.

The riſing and ſetting of the ſtars with reſpect to the riſing and ſetting of the ſun depends alſo upon the preceſſion of the equinoxes. Any writer, therefore, who mentions the riſing or ſetting of any ſtar, at any particular time of the year, with reſpect to the ſun, furniſhes us with data ſufficient to determine the time in which he wrote. Thus Heſiod tells us that ſixty days after the winter ſolſtice the ſtar arcturus roſe juſt at ſun ſet; from which circumſtance it is eaſily calculated that Heſiod flouriſhed about one hundred years after the death of Solomon, or in the generation, or age, next to the Trojan war, as Heſiod himſelf declares; which is another independent argument for the date before aſſigned to that war, and all the Greek chronology connected with it.

Many other circumſtances which Heſiod occaſionally mentions, relating to the ſtate of the heavens in his time, concur in leading us to the ſame concluſion. Virgil too, if his age had not been aſcertained in another manner, has given us data of the ſame kind ſufficient to determine it pretty nearly.

I cannot conclude theſe obſervations on the chronology of the earlieſt ages of the heathen world better than by reminding you, that, the truth of the ſcripture hiſtory being unqueſtionable, and relating to times prior to the age in which hiſtory began to be written by any other people than the Jews, it is the beſt guide to the knowledge of prophane antiquity. It was in purſuing this plan that Newton was led to correct the ancient technical chronology of the Greeks by itſelf. The principles on which he reduces their accounts are founded on nature, and independent on any arguments drawn from ſcripture. But it is more than probable that, ſeeing reaſon to think, from ſimilar circumſtances, that Seſoſtris muſt have been the ſame perſon with Seſac, of whom we have an account in the hiſtory of Rehoboam, he firſt of all fixed the date of that expedition according to the ſcriptures, and that afterwards, from conſidering the ſubject in various points of light, he was led to the other arguments which have been mentioned; by which he was able to confirm the ſcriptural date of that event, and alſo the dates of the principal facts in the hiſtory of Greece connected with it, in a manner independent of the authorities on which he firſt founded his opinion. Then having, by the joint helps of ſcripture and reaſon, rectified the chronology of the Greeks, he made uſe of this rectified chronology to adjuſt the cotemporary affairs of the Egyptians, Aſſyrians, Babylonians, Medes, and Perſians.

If

If this analyſis of the method of reaſoning, ſo ſucceſsfully uſed by Sir Iſaac Newton in rectifying the chronology of ancient times, induce any of you who are intended for a learned profeſſion to ſtudy ſo excellent and important a work, and be any help to you in underſtanding it, and I ſhall thus contribute to the more general reception of the great outlines of this ſyſtem, I ſhall think that I have rendered an important ſervice to the learned world.

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PART

PART III.

WHAT IS NECESSARY, OR USEFUL, TO BE KNOWN PREVIOUS TO THE STUDY OF HISTORY.

LECTURE XIII.

Uſe of the Sciences derived from Hiſtory to the Study of Hiſtory. The Knowledge of human Nature. Philoſophical Knowledge in general. Geography. Chronology. The Method of reckoning by Weeks. Diviſion of the Day.

BEFORE we enter upon the third diviſion of our ſubject, which comprizes what is neceſſary, or peculiarly uſeful, to be known previous to the ſtudy of hiſtory, it is proper to obſerve, that it muſt be taken in very different degrees of extent, according to the views with which hiſtory is read; and that this, as was obſerved before, depends very much upon the age and ſituation of the perſon who applies to it.

If particular portions of hiſtory be recommended to young perſons, with a view to amuſe their imaginations, to engage their paſſions, to diſcover their diſpoſitions and genius, or form them to juſt and manly ſentiments, in order to fit them for acting

acting in the common ſpheres of life with more propriety and dignity, no previous qualifications at all are neceſſary. Let youth have hiſtory put into their hands as ſoon as they are capable of reading, provided that paſſages be ſelected with a view to their age and capacity. The uſes above-mentioned (which after all, are the nobleſt that can be made of hiſtory) may be derived from it though many particular paſſages in hiſtorians be unintelligible, and the reader be not capable of applying hiſtory to theſe purpoſes of ſcience, to which it has been ſhown to be ſubſervient.

But if a perſon have farther and ſcientific views in the ſtudy of hiſtory, he will find ſeveral branches of knowledge, and ſome articles of previous information, extremely uſeful, and in a manner neceſſary. It is true that thoſe ſciences, and thoſe articles of information, were originally derived from hiſtory; and therefore that thoſe who firſt applied to the ſtudy of it had not theſe helps. But the ſame may be ſaid of grammars, which were made after the perſons who wrote them had formed an acquaintance with the languages which they were deſigned to explain; but which are univerſally eſteemed to be, in a manner, neceſſary to be underſtood by any perſon who would obtain, at leaſt an eaſy and ſpeedy acquaintance with theſe languages afterwards. I ſhall therefore, in this part of my ſubject, point out thoſe branches of ſcience, and give the principal of thoſe articles of information, which are peculiarly uſeful to a perſon who applies to the ſtudy of hiſtory. And, indeed, if a perſon have no thought of eſtabliſhing or confirming any principles of ſcience by his ſtudy of hiſtory, it muſt greatly contribute to his pleaſure in reading, to underſtand his author perfectly, and have a clear idea of every thing which is preſented to him in the theatre he is viewing.

Conſidering

Conſidering the extenſive nature of hiſtory, there is no branch of ſcience which it may not be of advantage for a perſon to furniſh himſelf with, preparatory to the ſtudy of it. But it muſt be obſerved that an accurate and extenſive knowledge of thoſe ſciences cannot be attained without ſome knowledge of hiſtory. Indeed their aid is mutual, juſt as the knowledge of grammar, as was obſerved before, qualifies a perſon for the reading of authors, and the reading of authors enlarges and perfects his acquaintance with grammar. There is no occaſion therefore for a perſon who propoſes to ſtudy hiſtory ſcientifically to defer his application to it till he be completely maſter of the ſciences I ſhall recommend, as peculiarly uſeful to his purpoſe. If he come to the reading of hiſtory furniſhed with the firſt principles of them, he will find his knowledge of them grow more perfect as he proceeds; particularly if he attend to the facts he becomes acquainted with, with that view.

For inſtance, the knowledge of *human nature* is of univerſal and conſtant uſe in conſidering the characters and actions of *men*; yet a very moderate knowledge of this important ſubject is the reſult of all our reading, of all our experience, and of all the obſervations we can make upon mankind. A general idea, however, of the principles of human nature will be an excellent guide to us in judging of the conſiſtency of human characters, and of what is within, and what without, the reach of human powers; and without ſome attention to this ſubject we might embrace all the fables of *Grecian mythology*, and all the extravagancies of books of *chivalry*, as undoubted truth; or admit it to be poſſible, that the real heroes of antiquity might have been the ſame perſons with thoſe who bore their names in the moſt abſurd of the modern plays and romances which are founded on their hiſtory.

Philoſophical

Philoſophical knowledge in general is of the moſt extenſive uſe to all perſons who would examine with accuracy the atchievements of ancient nations in peace or war, or who would thoroughly weigh the accounts of any thing in which the powers of nature are employed. Without ſome acquaintance with philoſophy it will be impoſſible to diſtinguiſh between the moſt abſurd chimeras of eaſtern romance, and the moſt natural hiſtorical relations. Who but a philoſopher, or a perſon acquainted with the powers of nature and art, could form any judgment of what the ancients relate concerning the prodigious machines of *Archimedes* in the defence of *Syracuſe*; or know what to think of the accounts of omens, oracles, and prodigies, which occur in ſuch grave hiſtorians as Livy, Taciſtus, Joſephus, &c?

Without ſome knowledge of philoſophy a perſon might even admit what many authors have related one after another, that the famous Otho, Archbiſhop of Mayence, was beſieged and devoured by an army of rats in the year ſix hundred and ninety-eight, that Gaſcony was deluged with ſhowers of blood in one thouſand and ſeventeen, or that two armies of ſerpents fought a battle near Tournay in one thouſand and fifty-nine. It particularly requires a conſiderable acquaintance with ſeveral branches of philoſophy, to diſtinguiſh between truth and falſhood, probability and improbability, in the hiſtory of the cuſtoms and manners of ancient and remote nations.

Aſtronomy, though ſeemingly very remote from this ſubject of civil hiſtory, has been ſhown, in a proceeding lecture, to inſtruct us in the buſineſs of chronological calculations; and *mathematical ſcience* in general is uſefully applied in meaſuring the greatneſs, and conſequently in determining the probability, of many human works.

But thoſe ſciences which are of the moſt conſtant and general uſe to an hiſtorian, ſo as to have deſerved to be called the *two eyes of hiſtory*, are *geography* and *chronology*. Without geography, or a knowledge of the ſituation and relative magnitude of the ſeveral countries of the earth, no reader of hiſtory can have any clear and diſtinct idea of what he reads, as being tranſacted in them. Beſides, he would be liable to the groſſeſt impoſitions, and might even be led to think, for inſtance, from the common editions of Shakeſpeare, that ſhips might come to an harbour in Bohemia. Moreover, by a knowledge of geography we are able to verify many paſt tranſactions, which, if they ever happened, muſt have left indelible traces upon the face of the earth. Many curious examples of this nature may be ſeen in Addiſon's, Maundrell's and Shaw's travels. The fiſſure in the rock of Mount Calvary, which was made when our Saviour was crucified, and a large fragment of the rock of Rephidim near mount Sinai, are remarkable facts of this nature.

This ſcience of geography, being perfectly diſtinct from hiſtory, civil or eccleſiaſtical, though abſolutely neceſſary to the knowledge of it, I ſhall not enter upon; but *chronology*, the other eye of hiſtory, as it conſiſts chiefly of a knowledge of the artificial diviſions of time, and partakes more of the nature of hiſtory, I ſhall explain as briefly as poſſible; eſpecially as much of the principles of it as I apprehend to be of the moſt uſe in the ſtudy of hiſtory.

The uſe of chronology (though it may have been ſometimes handled too minutely for the purpoſe of hiſtory) cannot be denied. We can form but very confuſed notions of the intervals of time, of the riſe and fall of empires, and of the ſucceſſive eſtabliſhment of ſtates, without ſome ſuch general comprehenſion, as we may call it, of the whole current of time, as may enable

us

us to trace out diſtinctly the dependence of events, and diſtribute them into ſuch periods and diviſions, as ſhall lay the whole chain of paſt tranſactions in a juſt and orderly manner before us; and this is what chronology undertakes to aſſiſt us in.

The diviſions of time which are conſidered in chronology relate either to the different methods of computing days, months, and years, or the remarkable æras or epochas from which any year receives its name, and by means of which the date of any event is fixed.

Time is commodiouſly divided by any equal motions, or the regular return of any appearances, in the heavens or on the earth, that ſtrike the ſenſes of all perſons; and there are *three* of theſe, ſo particularly conſpicuous, that they have been made uſe of for this purpoſe by all mankind. They are the changes of day and night, the courſe of the moon, and the return of the ſeaſons of the year.

The firſt of theſe is produced by the revolution of the earth about its axis, and is called a *day*; the ſecond is the period that elapſes between one new moon and another, called a *month*; and the third is the time in which the earth completes its revolution about the ſun, called a *year*.

Were theſe three periods commenſurate to one another, that is, did a month conſiſt of any equal number of days, and the year of a certain number of lunar months, a great part of the buſineſs of chronology would have been exceedingly eaſy. All the embarraſſment of the ancient aſtronomers, in ſettling their periods, and all the difficulty that attends the acquiring the knowledge of them, have been owing to the methods that mankind have been compelled to adopt in order to accommodate the three methods of computing time, viz. by days, months, and years, to one another, ſo as to make uſe of them all at the ſame time.

Beſides theſe three natural diviſions of time, there is another that may be called artificial, viz. into *weeks*, or periods of ſeven days, which took its riſe from the Divine Being having completed the creation of the earth in ſeven days. But this diviſion of time, though uſed by Jews, Chriſtians, and Mahometans, and by almoſt all the people of Aſia and Africa, was not obſerved by the Greeks or Romans.

To give as diſtinct a view of this ſubject as I am able, I ſhall firſt give ſome account of each of theſe diviſions of time, noting all the principal ſub-diviſions or diſtributions that have been made of them, and then deſcribe the methods of accommodating them to one another.

Days have been very differently terminated and divided by different people in different ages, which it is of ſome importance to a reader of hiſtory to be acquainted with. The ancient Babylonians, Perſians, Syrians, and moſt other eaſtern nations, with the preſent inhabitants of the Balearic iſlands, the Greeks, &c. began their day with the ſun's riſing. The ancient Athenians and Jews, with the Auſtrians, Bohemians, Marcomanni, Sileſians, modern Italians and Chineſe, reckon from the ſun's ſetting; the ancient Umbri and Arabians, with the modern aſtronomers, from noon; and the Egyptians and Romans, with the modern Engliſh, French, Dutch, Germans, Spaniards, and Portugueſe, from midnight.

The Jews, Romans, and moſt other ancient nations divided the day into twelve hours, and the night into four watches. But the cuſtom which prevails in this weſtern part of the world at preſent is, to divide the day into twenty-four equal portions, only with ſome the twenty-four are divided into twice twelve hours; whereas others, particularly the Italians, Bohemians, and Poles, count twenty-four hours without interruption.

LECTURE XIV.

Months, Lunar and Solar. Difference in Beginning the Year. Intercalation. Cycles. Old and new Style. The Solar Cycle. Cycle of Indiction. Julian Period. Æra's or Epocha's. The Æra of Nabonaſſar. Of the Seleucidæ. Of the Birth of Chriſt. Of the Hegira. Of the Æra uſed formerly in Spain. Of the Battle of Actium. Of the Æra of Dioclesian and that of Yeſdejerd. Cautions in comparing them with one another.

AS a complete lunation conſiſts of about twenty-nine days and an half, and the changes of the moon are very viſible, there could be no great difficulty in accommodating them to each other, or in fixing what number of days ſhould be allowed to a month. In general the ancients made them to conſiſt of twenty-nine and thirty days alternately; and they could never make a miſtake of a day without being able to rectify it (provided the view of the heavens was not obſtructed) by ocular obſervation.

When months came to be reckoned not by lunations, but were conſidered as each the twelfth part of a year, conſiſting of three hundred and ſixty-five days and ſome hours, it became neceſſary to allow ſometimes thirty and ſometimes thirty-one days to a month, as in the Roman calendar.

Whenever months are mentioned as divided by days in the books of ſcripture, they are ſuppoſed to conſiſt of thirty days each; and twelve months, or three hundred and ſixty days, make the year. This is particularly to be obſerved in interpreting the prophetical books of Daniel and St. John.

Different

Different people have made their years to begin at different times, and have uſed a variety of methods to give names to them, and diſtinguiſh them from one another.

The Jews began the year for civil purpoſes in the month of *Tizri*, which anſwers to our September; but for eccleſiaſtical purpoſes with *Niſan*, which anſwers to our April, at which time they kept the paſſover.

The Athenians began the year with the month *Hecatombæon*, which began with the firſt new moon after the ſummer ſolſtice.

The Romans had at firſt only *ten* months in their year, which ended with December, but Numa added January and February.

At preſent there are in Rome two ways of reckoning the year. One begins at Chriſtmas on account of the nativity of our Saviour, and the notaries of Rome uſe this date, prefixing to their deeds *A nativitate*; and the other at March, on account of the incarnation of Chriſt, and therefore the pope's bulls are dated *anno incarnationis*.

The ancient French hiſtorians began the year at the death of St. Martin, who died in the year four hundred and one, or four hundred and two; and they did not begin in France to reckon the year from January till one thouſand five hundred and ſixty-four, by virtue of an ordinance of Charles IX. Before that time they began the day next after Eaſter, about the twenty-fifth of March.

In England alſo, till of late, we had two beginnings of the year, one in January, and the other in March 25; but by act of parliament in one thouſand ſeven hundred and fifty-two, the firſt day in January was appointed to be the beginning of the year for all purpoſes.

Moſt of the eaſtern nations diſtinguiſh the year by the reigns of their princes. The Greeks alſo had no better method, giving

giving names to them from the magiſtrates who preſided in them, as in Athens from the Archons. The Romans alſo named the year by the conſuls. And it was a long time before any people thought of giving names to the years from any particular æra, or remarkable event. But at length the Greeks reckoned from the inſtitution of the Olympic games, and the Romans from the building of Rome. They did not, however, begin to make theſe computations till the number of years that had elapſed ſince thoſe events could not be computed with exactneſs, and therefore, they have greatly antedated them.

About A.D. 360, the chriſtians began to reckon the years from the birth of Chriſt, but not time enough to enable the chronologers of that age, to fix the true time of that event.

The Greeks diſtributed their years into ſyſtems of *four*, calling them *Olympiads*, from the return of the Olympic games every four years. And the Romans ſometimes reckoned by *Luſtra*, or periods of five years. The word comes from *luo*, which Varro ſays ſignifies *to pay*, becauſe every fifth year they paid a tribute impoſed by the Cenſor, at the ſolemn purification inſtituted by Servius Tullius.

The greateſt difficulty in chronology has been to accommodate the two methods of computing time by the courſe of the moon and that of the ſun to each other; the neareſt diviſion of the year by months being twelve, and yet twelve lunar months falling eleven days ſhort of a complete year. This gave birth to many *cycles* in uſe among the ancients, the principal of which I ſhall explain.

It appears from the relation which Herodotus has given of the interview between Solon and Crœſus, that, in the time of Solon, and probably that of Herodotus alſo, it was the cuſtom with

with the Greeks to add, or, as it is termed, to *intercalate*, a month every other year; but as this was evidently too much, they probably rectified it, by omitting the intercalation whenever they obſerved, by comparing the ſeaſons of the year with their annual feſtivals, that they ought to do it. If, for inſtance, the firſt fruits of any kind were to be carried in proceſſion on any particular day of a month, they would ſee the neceſſity of intercalating a month, if according to their uſual reckoning, thoſe fruits were not then ripe, or they would omit the intercalation if they were ready. And had no other view interpoſed, their reckoning could never have erred far from the truth. But it being ſometimes the intereſt of the chief magiſtrates to lengthen or ſhorten a year, for the purpoſes of ambition, every other conſideration was often ſacrificed to it, and the greateſt confuſion was introduced into their computations.

Finding themſelves, therefore, under a neceſſity of having ſome certain rule of computation, they firſt pitched upon *four years*, in which they intercalated only one month. But this producing an error of fourteen days in the whole cycle, they invented the period of *eight years*, in which they intercalated three months, in which was an exceſs of only one day and fourteen hours, and therefore this cycle continued in uſe much longer than either of the preceding.

But the moſt perfect of theſe cycles was that which was called the *Metonic*, from Meton, an Athenian aſtronomer, who invented it. It conſiſted of nineteen years, in which ſeven months were intercalated. This brought the two methods to ſo near an agreement, that after the expiration of the period, not only do the new and full moons return on the ſame day of the year, but very nearly on the ſame hour of the day.

This

This cycle was adopted by the chriſtians at the council of Nice, for the purpoſe of ſettling the time for keeping Eaſter, and other moveable feaſts. This period, however, falling ſhort of nineteen years almoſt an hour and a half, it has come to paſs, that the new and full moons in the heavens have anticipated the new and full moons in the calendar of the book of common prayer four days and a half. Theſe laſt are called *Calendar new moons*, to diſtinguiſh them from the true new moons in the heavens.

It has not been without difficulty and variety, that the computation by *years* has been accommodated to that by *days*; ſince a year does not conſiſt of any even number of days, but of three hundred and ſixty-five days five minutes and forty-nine ſeconds.

It will appear from what has been obſerved, that ſo long as mankind computed chiefly by months, it was not of much conſequence to determine with exactneſs the number of days in the year; and this method ſufficiently anſwered every civil and religious purpoſe. But the Egyptians, and other nations addicted to aſtronomy, were not ſatisfied with the method of computing by lunar months, the days of which varied ſo very much from one another in different years. They therefore made the *year* the ſtandard, and dividing that into *days*, made uſe of *months* only as a commodious intermediate diviſion, and, without regard to the courſe of the moon, diſtributed the days of the year into *twelve parts*, as nearly equal as they conveniently could. By this means the ſame day of the month would fall on the ſame part of the ſun's annual revolution, and therefore would more exactly correſpond to the ſeaſons of the year. The Mexicans divided their year into eighteen parts.

The Egyptians, as alſo the Chaldeans and Aſſyrians, reckoned at firſt three hundred and ſixty days to the year, but afterwards three hundred and ſixty-five. The conſequence of this was

that the beginning of their year would go back through all the ſeaſons, though ſlowly; namely, at the rate of about ſix hours every year. Of this form too were the years, which took their date from the reign of Nabonaſſar of Babylon, Yeſdigerd of Perſia, and the Seleucidæ of Syria.

It muſt be obſerved, however, that the people who reckoned their year from theſe epochas, namely, the Egyptians, Perſians, and Jews; as alſo the Arabians, had a different and more fixed form of the year for aſtronomical purpoſes; but as no uſe was made of it in civil hiſtory, the account of it is omitted in this place.

The inconvenience attending the form of the year above-mentioned was in a great meaſure remedied by the Romans, in the time of Julius Cæſar, who added one day every fourth year which (from the place of its inſertion, viz. after the ſixth of the calends of March) was called *biſſextile*, or leap year. This form of the year is ſtill called the *Julian* year. But the true length of the year being not quite ſix hours more than the three hundred and ſixty-five days, this allowance was too much; and pope Gregory XIII. introduced another amendment in the year one thouſand five hundred and eighty-two, by ordering that once in one hundred and thirty-three years a day ſhould be taken out of the calendar, in the following manner, viz. from the year one thouſand ſix hundred every hundreth year (which according to the Julian form is always biſſextile, or leap year) was to be common, but every four hundreth year was to continue biſſextile, as in the Julian account. As this pope made allowance at once for all the alteration that his method would have made in the courſe of the year from the time of the council of Nice, the *new ſtile* (for ſo his regulation of the year is called) differed from the old ſtile ten days at the very commencement of it, and is now

eleven days different from it. The new ſtile was adopted in England in one thouſand ſeven hundred and fifty-two.

The Mahometans make their year to conſiſt of lunar months only, without endeavouring to adapt it to the courſe of the ſun; ſo that with them the beginning of the year goes through all the ſeaſons at the rate of about eleven days every year.

But ſince the exact time of twelve moons, beſides the three hundred and fifty-four whole days, is about eight hours, and forty-eight minutes, which make eleven days in thirty-ſix years, they are forced to add eleven days in thirty years, which they do by means of a cycle, invented by the Arabians, in which there are nineteen years with three hundred and fifty-four days only, and eleven intercalary of three hundred and fifty-five days, and they are thoſe in which the number of hours and minutes more than the whole days in the year is found to be more than half a day, ſuch as two, five, ſeven, ten, thirteen, ſixteen, eighteen, twenty-one, twenty-four, twenty-ſix, and twenty-nine, by which means they fill up all the inequalities that can happen.

It has been of ſome conſequence to chriſtians to adjuſt the days of the week to the days of the month, and of the year, in order to get a rule for finding *Sunday*. Had there been no biſſextile, it is evident that, ſince the year conſiſts of fifty-two weeks, and one day, all the varieties would have been comprized in ſeven years. But the biſſextile returning every fourth year, the ſeries of *dominical letters* ſucceeding each other is interrupted, and does not return in order, but after four times two years, or twenty-eight years, which is therefore commonly called the *ſolar cycle*, ſerving as a rule to find Sunday, and conſequently all the days of the week of every month and year.

Beſides the above mentioned periods of years, called *cycles*, there are ſome other combinations, or ſyſtems of years, that are

of uſe in chronology, as that called the *indiction*, which is a period of fifteen years, at the end of which a certain tribute was paid by the provinces of the Roman empire, and by which the emperors ordered public acts to be dated.

But the moſt remarkable of all the periods in chronology is that called the *Julian period*, invented by Joſeph Scaliger, and called *Julian*, from the years of which it conſiſts being Julian years. His object was to reduce to a certainty the different methods of computing time, and fixing the dates of events, by different chronologers. For this purpoſe nothing was neceſſary but a ſeries of years ſome term of which was fixed (that, for inſtance, by which the preſent year ſhould be denominated) comprehending the whole extent of time. Since, if each chronologer would apply that common meaſure to his particular ſcheme, they would all perfectly underſtand one another.

To accompliſh this, he combined the three periods of the *ſun*, the *moon*, and the *indiction*, together, that is, multiplying the numbers twenty-eight, nineteen, and fifteen into one another, which produces ſeven thouſand nine hundred and eighty, after which period, and not before, all the three cycles will return in the ſame order every year, being diſtinguiſhed by the ſame number of each.

In order to fix the beginning of this period, he took the cycles as he then found them ſettled in the Latin church; and tracing them backwards through their ſeveral combinations, he found that the year in which they would all begin together was the year before the creation ſeven hundred and fourteen, according to Uſher, and that the firſt year of the chriſtian æra would be four thouſand ſeven hundred and fourteen of this period.

There

There is a farther convenience in this period, viz. that if any year be divided by the number compoſing the cycles, viz. twenty-eight, nineteen, or fifteen, the quotient will ſhew the number of the cycles that have elapſed ſince the commencement of it, and the remainder will give the year of the cycle, correſponding to the year given.

I cannot help obſerving that this boaſted period ſeems to have been unneceſſary for the chief purpoſe for which it was invented, viz. to ſerve as a common language for chronologers, and that now little uſe is made of it, notwithſtanding all writers ſtill ſpeak of it in the ſame magnificent terms. The vulgar chriſtian æra anſwers the ſame purpoſe as effectually.

All that can be neceſſary for chronologers to ſpeak the ſame language, and be perfectly underſtood by one another, and by all mankind, is to give every year the ſame name or deſignation, which is moſt conveniently done by expreſſing them in a ſeries of numbers in arithmetical progreſſion, any one term of which they ſhall agree to affix to the ſame year, a year in which any well known event happened. Let it, for example, be that in which the peace of Paris was made, and let it be called one thouſand ſeven hundred and ſixty-three. If, beſides this, it be only agreed in what part of the revolution of the ſun, or in what month and day, the year begins, there can be no difficulty in giving a name to every other year preceding or following it, and thereby aſcertaining the interval between all tranſactions. For all the events that took place the year before that peace will be referred to the year one thouſand ſeven hundred and ſixty-two, and all in the year after it to one thouſand ſeven hundred and ſixty-four. This period having had a commencement ſince the date of hiſtory is no inconvenience; for whenever we have gone back to number *one* of this period, the

year preceding it may be called *one before its commencement*, the year preceding that *two* before it, &c. and thus proceding *ad infinitum* both ways.

That Chriſt might not have been born in the firſt of that ſyſtem of years to which it ſerves to give a name, is no inconvenience whatever; ſince, whatever differences of opinion there may be among chronologers about the time when Chriſt was born, they all agree in calling the preſent year, and conſequently every other year, by the ſame name, and therefore they have the ſame idea of the interval between the preſent year and any other year in the ſyſtem. The real time of Chriſt's birth can no more affect the proper uſe of this ſyſtem than that of any other indifferent event; ſince, uſing the ſame *ſyſtem of dates*, they may ſay Chriſt was born in the third, fourth, fifth, or ſixth, what I think to be the caſe, in the ſeventh year before the chriſtian æra.

Whenever, therefore, chronologers ceaſed to date events from the *creation*, which was very abſurd (ſince they did not agree in fixing the interval between the preſent year and the date of that event, and therefore gave all the years different names) they had no occaſion to have recourſe to any ſuch period as the Julian; ſince another, capable of anſwering the ſame purpoſes, was already in common uſe, ſupplying them with a language which they all equally underſtood.

Æra's or Epocha's, are memorable events from which time is reckoned, and from which any ſubſequent year receives its denomination. The Greeks for a long time (as I obſerved before) had no fixed æra, afterwards they reckoned by Olympiads, which were games celebrated in honour of Jupiter once in four years, and began in Midſummer, ſeven hundred and ſeventy-ſix years before Chriſt. The Athenians gave names

to

to their years from their archons. The Romans called their years from the names of the conſuls who preſided in them, and afterwards they dated events from the building of their city, ſuppoſing it to have been built ſeven hundred and fifty-three years before Chriſt.

Some hiſtories are regulated by the year of Nabonaſſer, who began his reign in the year ſeven hundred and forty-ſeven before Chriſt, of the Julian period three thouſand eight hundred and ſixty-ſeven. It is ſuppoſed to have commenced on the twenty-ſixth of February in the afternoon.

The Jews before Chriſt reckoned by the year of the Seleucidæ, ſometimes called the year of the contracts, which began in the year three hundred and twelve before Chriſt, of the Julian period four thouſand four hundred and two, ſometime in the ſpring.

The Chriſtians, about three hundred and ſixty years after the birth of Chriſt, began to make uſe of that æra, which is now uſed in all chriſtian countries.

The Mahometans reckon their years from the flight of Mahommed from Mecca. This æra is called the Hegyra. It began in the year ſix hundred and twenty-two after Chriſt, of the Julian period five thouſand three hundred and thirty-five, on the ſixteenth of July.

The old Spaniſh æra is dated from the year thirty-eight before Chriſt, about the time when they were ſubdued by the Romans. It was uſed till the year one thouſand three hundred and thirty-three, under John I. of Caſtile.

The Egyptians long reckoned from the battle of Actium, which happened in the year thirty-one before Chriſt, of the Julian period four thouſand ſix hundred and eighty-three, on the third of September.

Before

Before the Chriſtian æra was uſed, the Chriſtians for ſome time made uſe of the Diocleſian æra, which took its riſe from the perſecution by Diocleſian, in the year two hundred and eighty-four after Chriſt.

The æra of Yerdigerd is dated from the laſt king of Perſia who was conquered by the Saracens, in the year ſix hundred and thirty-two after Chriſt, of the Julian period five thouſand three hundred and forty-five, on the ſixteenth of June.

With regard to all theſe methods of denominating time, care muſt be taken that the year be reckoned according to the method of computation followed by the people who uſe it. Thus, in reckoning from the Hegyra, a perſon would be led into a miſtake who ſhould make thoſe years correſpond to Julian years. He muſt deduct eleven days from every year which has elapſed ſince the commencement of it. Thus, though the firſt year of this æra correſponded to the year ſix hundred and twenty-two after Chriſt, and began on the ſixteenth of July; the year three hundred and twenty-ſix of the Hegyra correſponded to the year nine hundred and thirty-ſeven of Chriſt, and began November eight. And the year of the Hegyra ſix hundred and fifty-five commenced on the nineteenth of January, one thouſand two hundred and fifty-ſeven.

This compendium of chronology is ſufficient for the purpoſe of reading hiſtory, but is by no means a complete account of the methods of computing time in every particular country which has been mentioned. To have done this, would have carried me beyond my preſent purpoſe, and too far into the cuſtoms of particular countries. For a fuller account I refer you to Strauchius, and other chronologers.

LECT.

LECTURE XV.

Of the Methods of eſtimating the Riches and Power of ancient and remote Nations. Sources of Miſtake on this Subject. Change in the Standard of Coin. Upon what the Price of Commodities depends. Of the Changes which the Grecian Coins underwent. Of the Proportion between Silver, Gold, and Copper, in ancient Times. Of the Changes in the Roman Coins. Of the Proportion of Money to Commodities in different Periods of the Grecian and Roman Hiſtory. Of the Intereſt of Money in Greece and at Rome.

AN article of information the moſt immediately neceſſary to a reader of hiſtory, is how to make a juſt eſtimate of the riches and power of ancient and remote nations, and to compare them with thoſe of our own age and nation, by means of the expreſſions which hiſtorians have uſed to denote the riches and power of ſtates, and particularly by the ſums of money which are occaſionally mentioned in their writings. The true ſtate of the riches of nations, in the ſeveral periods of their hiſtory, will be pointed out as an object of the firſt importance to an hiſtorian. On this account it is of conſequence that every reader of hiſtory have it in his power to form a juſt idea of them from the *data* he finds in hiſtorians, and that he be guarded againſt the miſtakes which, without ſome previous inſtruction, he would unavoidably fall into with reſpect to them.

I ſhall therefore endeavour to explain the ſources of uncertainty, and ambiguity, that every circumſtance in our ſituation can occaſion to us, in interpreting the ſums of money which are mentioned in the hiſtories of the moſt conſiderable nations, and I ſhall then give ſuch a collection of *facts*, collected from hiſtory, as ſhall ſhew us the true ſtate of every thing connected with money in the moſt remarkable ſucceſſive periods of time in thoſe countries. By this means it will be eaſy to make every neceſſary allowance for the difference of circumſtances between us and them, and thus exhibit whatever accounts we meet with of the riches and power of ancient times and nations, in a fair contraſt with the riches and power of our own age and nation, and ſo to form the cleareſt idea we can get of them.

In order to this, it muſt be conſidered, that *money* is only a commodious repreſentative of the *commodities* which may be purchaſed with it; and we ſhall have the eaſieſt view of this ſubject if we, moreover, conſider *ſilver* as the only ſtandard of money, and gold and copper, as ſubſtitutes for ſilver, or as commodities which are repreſented, and may be purchaſed, by ſilver. Now, there are two things which may make an alteration in the repreſentative power of money. The one is a change of the idea annexed to any common name of a piece, or a ſum of money, and the other is an alteration of the proportion between the quantity of money in a ſtate, and the commodities repreſented by it. I ſhall explain each of theſe more particularly.

If a change be made in the ſtandard of a coin, which continues to go by the ſame name, it is plain that the ſame name no longer expreſſes the ſame idea, and therefore, if we be not aware of this change, we ſhall be miſled by the expreſſions. For inſtance,

inſtance, if the quantity of ſilver which we call *a pound* be at this time but half the quantity which was formerly called by that name, it is plain that, if we would form a juſt idea of the value of a pound in times previous to the alteration we muſt ſuppoſe it to be two of our preſent pounds, inſtead of one; for ſo in fact it is.

The tables of our coin only ſhow the proportion which ſums denoted by particular names, as pounds, ſhillings, pence, &c. bear to one another; and though theſe ſums may have always kept the ſame proportion, the abſolute value of them all may have changed. And *tables*, which ſhew the value of ancient or foreign money, are always calculated according to to the laſt ſtandard of both, which is generally the loweſt. The preſent tables, therefore, are not ſufficient to inform a reader of hiſtory of the true value of ſums of money expended, or acquired, in early times. He muſt alſo have an hiſtorical account of thoſe changes in the value of coin, which alter the quantity of metal contained in it, either by diminiſhing the ſize of the current pieces, or leſſening the fineneſs of the metal by a greater proportion of alloy.

As the generality of hiſtorians take no notice of changes in the value of money, but content themſelves with mentioning ſums by their common names, I ſhall endeavour (as far as the materials I have been able to collect will enable me) to ſupply this defect with reſpect to thoſe hiſtories which are moſt intereſting to us.

As it is a maxim in trade, that *every thing will find its value* (and indeed the value which the exchange of any thing, in buying and ſelling, has is its real value, that is, its true relative value with reſpect to other things) the accounts of ſums exchanged for commodities in hiſtory are the only *data* we have

given us, to determine this relative value of money; and if we have enow of theſe accounts, they will be abundantly ſufficient for the purpoſe.

To judge of the proportion between the quantity of circulating caſh in different nations, or different periods of the ſame nation, it is evident that we muſt not be guided by the price of any ſingle article, particularly an article of luxury; becauſe the prices of theſe things depend upon fancy and caprice, which are continually changing. The beſt guide upon the whole ſeems to be the price of mere *labour*, eſtimated by the wages given to perſons of the loweſt occupations. For theſe have been obſerved, in all ages and nations, to be little more than a bare ſubſiſtence, and the articles of *their* expence muſt be the *neceſſaries* of life.

Beſides, it is ſelf-evident, that the man who can command the moſt of the labour of his fellow creatures is the richeſt, and the moſt powerful. For this, in fact, is all that wealth and power can procure a man. If it be ſaid that what is neceſſary in ſome countries is ſuperfluous in others, as cloaths in hot climates, bread or fleſh meat in countries where each of thoſe articles may not be uſed, and the like, it is ſtill obvious, that the leſs money will purchaſe *neceſſaries*, whatever they be, the more value it is of, and the more a perſon may ſpare out of the ſame ſum for the conveniencies and ſuperfluities of life, by purchaſing the labour of his fellow creatures.

We are not, however, to judge of a man's wealth by the number of perſons he can maintain, unleſs thoſe perſons contribute nothing by their labour towards their own maintenance. He muſt, by commanding the labour of *others* (for it cannot be done in any other way) maintain them. But if they be a

continual expence to him, as if they were employed in building, or other great works, in the army, or kept upon charity, it ſeems to be a very fair medium of computation. If therefore, for inſtance, we read that one perſon was impoveriſhed by employing one thouſand labouring men upon any piece of work, and that another was able to keep two thouſand at work, we need not trouble ourſelves to conſider the ſituation of their different countries, and times, the prices of proviſion, manner of living, &c. but may very fairly conclude, that the one was twice as rich and powerful as the other.

Under the ſecond head, therefore, I ſhall endeavour to find the proportion between money and the neceſſaries of life in the different periods of thoſe hiſtories with which a gentleman and ſcholar would chooſe to be beſt acquainted. And at the ſame time that I endeavour, in this manner, to determine the proportion which the quantity of current money has borne to vendible commodities, I ſhall, likewiſe, take notice of the price of money with regard to itſelf, that is, the *intereſt* it has borne. It is true that the intereſt of money has been very juſtly called the barometer of ſtates with reſpect to other things than thoſe I am now conſidering, and which may be the ſubject of a future lecture; but in the mean time it may not be amiſs to take notice of it, at preſent, as a commodity and on many occaſions one of the moſt neceſſary. For ſince money may be of uſe like any other commodity which a perſon may make advantage of, he is the richeſt man (cæt. par.) whoſe ſtated revenues can purchaſe the moſt extenſive uſe of it.

Having explained the nature of this ſubject, I ſhall enter upon it, by giving the beſt account that I have been able to collect (taken almoſt wholly from Arbuthnot) of the ſucceſſive changes which have taken place in the value of nominal ſums of money among the Greeks and Romans, with the proportion

which

which they bore to commodities, and then give a more particular account of the like changes and proportions in Engliſh and French money, and to each I ſhall ſubjoin an account of the changes in the rate of intereſt; not that I ſhall perhaps keep all theſe articles perfectly diſtinct, ſince very little inconvenience, and perhaps ſome advantage, may ariſe from occaſionally mixing them.

The Greek coins underwent very little change compared with that of the Roman money, or of the money of modern European ſtates, and therefore is the leſs worthy of our notice. All the allowance we are to make for the changes of value in the *Drachma* (a coin equal to the Roman *Denarius*, and worth about eight-pence of our preſent money) and to which the changes of value in the reſt of their money correſponded is, that from Solon to the time of Alexander we muſt reckon ſixty-ſeven grains for the weight of it, from thence to the ſubjection of Greece by the Romans ſixty-five, and under the Romans ſixty-two and an half, a change which is very inconſiderable.

The conſtant and ſtated rate of the value of gold to ſilver among the Jews, Greeks, and Romans, in the whole period of ancient times, was ten to one, with very little variation, and the rate of ſilver to Cyprian braſs one hundred to one; and the general ſuppoſition is, that there was one fiftieth part of alloy in the gold coins of the ancients. At preſent gold is to ſilver as about fifteen to one, and ſilver to copper as ſeventy-three to one.

Numa, or Servius Tullius, firſt ſtamped braſs money among the Romans, ſilver was not ſtamped by them till the year of the city four hundred and eighty-five, the time of their war with Pyrrhus, and gold not till ſixty-two years after.

The

The *As*, from being a pound weight averdupois, fell to two ounces in the firſt Punic war, in the ſecond Punic war to one ounce, and preſently after it was fixed by the Papyrian law to half an ounce. Theſe alterations were occaſioned by the neceſſities of the commonwealth; but as Arbuthnot obſerves, the plenty of gold and ſilver would have done the ſame thing, and have brought down ſuch an enormous braſs coin; or rather ſilver coins of an equal value, and of leſs weight would have been introduced.

It may eaſily be imagined how ſcarce ſilver was at Rome when, in all the early times of the Roman hiſtory, eight hundred and forty pounds of braſs were equivalent to one of ſilver. Some ſay the proportion between theſe two metals before the firſt Punic war was nine hundred and ſixty to one. The different proportion which was juſt now obſerved to have taken place in Greece, during the ſame period, ſhows how little communication there was between Greece and Rome in thoſe times. Indeed the commonwealth gradually reduced this proportion, probably in conſequence of a freer intercourſe with other nations, which would neceſſarily be attended with the introduction of ſilver where it was ſo ſcarce.

The adulteration of the Roman coin in ſome periods of their hiſtory exceeds any thing we read of with reſpect to other countries. The money of Caracalla had more than one half alloy, that of Alexander Severus two thirds, and under Gallienus it was nothing more than gilt copper.

To enable us to judge of the proportion of money to commodities, I have ſelected ſome of the accounts that I have met with concerning the moſt neceſſary articles of conſumption in the ſeveral countries and ages which I have propoſed to conſider.

Corn

Corn was commonly reckoned in Greece at a drachma the medimnus, which, reduced to our computation, is four ſhillings and ſix-pence per quarter. In Demoſthenes's time it was much higher; being five drachmas the medimnus, which is about one pound two ſhillings and ſeven-pence per quarter. In times of plenty in Greece the price of a ſheep was eight-pence, of a hog two ſhillings, an ox three pounds three ſhillings; and a ſoldier ſerved for a drachma a day, which is about eight-pence. Upon the whole, we may perhaps allow that the proportion of money to commodities in the moſt flouriſhing time of Greece, or the time in which the claſſical hiſtorians wrote, was about one-third leſs than it is at preſent with us; which was about the ſame that it was in Europe before the diſcovery of America.

As the common people of Rome lived very much upon bread corn, the price of that article will be a better guide to us than any other ſingle circumſtance in judging of the proportion between money and the neceſſaries of life among them. The ancient price of corn in Rome, and to which it was reduced at the burning of Rome by Nero, was three nummi the modius, that is three-pence three-farthings the peck. According to Pliny, the coarſeſt bread was made of corn worth forty aſes, equal to two ſhillings and ſix-pence three-farthings a peck; of wheaten bread forty-eight aſes, equal to three ſhillings and three-farthings; and the fineſt of all eighty aſes, or five ſhillings and one-penny farthing; ſo that about the time of Pliny, corn was conſiderably dearer in Rome than it is commonly at London.

The article which ſtands next to bread corn among the neceſſaries of life is *cloathing*. Common wearing cloaths, made of wool, ſuch as were always worn at Rome, we ſhould not think very dear. For Cato the elder never wore a ſuit worth above

above one hundred drachms, equal to three pounds four ſhillings and ſeven pence; and we muſt conſider that the Roman cloaths were not made cloſe, but large, and looſe, and therefore would laſt longer than our cloſe garments. This article is likewiſe to be underſtood of plain undyed cloth, which was white; for the expence of *dying*, particularly purple, which the Romans and the ancients in general, moſt of all affected, was prodigious. Pelagium, one ſpecies of that dye, was worth fifty nummi, equal to eight ſhillings and eleven-pence, per pound. The buccinum, another ſpecies of it, was double that value; the violet purple was three pounds ten ſhillings and eleven pence per pound, and the Tyrian double dye could ſcarcely be bought for thirty-five pounds nine ſhillings and one penny farthing per pound. There muſt alſo have been a great difference in the fineneſs of their wool, and conſequently in the price of it. For a Roman pound of Padua wool, the fineſt of all (though indeed when it was rather dear) ſold for one hundred nummi, at which rate the Engliſh pound troy comes to ſeventeen ſhillings and eight-pence three farthings.

Wine ſeems always to have been cheap at Rome. For, according to Collumella, the common ſort was worth eight pounds per ton.

In the early times of Rome, the price of a good calf was twenty-five aſes, equal to one ſhilling and ſeven-pence three-eighths. The price of a ſheep a denarius, or eight-pence, and the price of an ox ten times as much. Theſe articles Arbuthnot quotes from Pliny, who, no doubt, makes allowance for the alteration in the coin. Otherwiſe they muſt have been much dearer than we can reaſonably ſuppoſe in the early times of the commonwealth. According to Varro, ſheep, in his time, were commonly worth twenty-five ſhillings each, a bullock twelve

pounds ten ſhillings, and a calf three pounds two ſhillings and ſix-pence. This makes the price of butcher's meat nearly the ſame as in London.

An Engliſh acre of middling land, for a vineyard, was worth according to Collumella, fourteen pounds fifteen ſhillings and three-pence, and the Jugerum was to the Engliſh acre as ten to ſixteen. According to the ſame author, the common mean rent of an acre of paſture ground was one pound eight ſhillings and ten-pence. Lands were commonly reckoned at twenty-five years purchaſe. For the lands of the government were ſo let, paying according to the rate of four pounds per cent.

The price of land was conſiderably increaſed by the great treaſures brought to Rome in Auguſtus's reign. An acre of the beſt ground in the city of Rome, under the emperors, may be reckoned to have brought in a ground rent of five pounds per annum.

The price of an ordinary ſlave, in Cato major's time, was three hundred and ſeventy-ſeventy drachms, equal to forty-eight pounds eight ſhillings and nine-pence.

Before Domitian, the Roman ſoldiers ſerved for under five-pence, and afterwards for about ſix-pence a day; ſo that if we take the price of day labour from the pay of a ſoldier (which in moſt countries, and particularly ancient nations, it hardly ever exceeds) it will not make it much higher in Rome than in our own country.

From the prices of all theſe articles taken together, we ſhould conclude that the proportion which money bore to commodities in the moſt flouriſhing times of the commonwealth, and under the firſt emperors, was rather higher than it bears at preſent with us. But this could only be the caſe at Rome,

Rome, and the neighbourhood of it. All the neceſſaries of life were conſiderably cheaper in Greece. Polybius, who lived in the time of the third Punic war, ſays that proviſions were ſo cheap in Italy in his time, that, in ſome places, the ſtated club in the inns was a ſemis a head, which is but little more than a farthing. And under the later emperors the prices of all neceſſaries were certainly nearly the ſame that they were in this part of Europe before the diſcovery of America.

All the articles mentioned above relate to what may be called the *neceſſaries* of life. How extravagant the Romans were in entertainments and the elegancies of life, we may form ſome idea of from the following circumſtance, that Roſcius the actor (whoſe profeſſion was leſs reſpectable at Rome than it is even with us) could gain five hundred ſeſtertia, equal to four thouſand and thirty-ſix pounds nine ſhillings and two-pence per annum; and per day when he acted one thouſand nummi, equal to thirty-two pounds five ſhillings and ten-pence. Various curious inſtances of Roman luxury may be ſeen in Arbuthnot.

The moſt moderate *intereſt* at Athens was twelve per cent. paid monthly, and according to Ariſtophanes it was ſomewhat more. The rent of other things, likewiſe, was very high in proportion to their value. Antidorus, ſays Demoſthenes, paid three talents and an half for a houſe, which he let for a talent a year. If this were true, admitting it to have been an extraordinary caſe, it is no wonder that the hire of money bore ſo extraordinary a price in proportion to its value. Such circumſtances as theſe are a demonſtration of the precarious ſtate of property. For both with regard to money, and every thing elſe, the more ſecure it is ſuppoſed to be, the leſs annual intereſt is required in proportion to its value.

In the early times of the Roman commonwealth too, intereſt was, at a medium, twelve per cent. In the flouriſhing times of the commonwealth it was at ſix, and though it was ſuddenly reduced to four upon the conqueſt of Egypt, it preſently roſe to its old ſtandard; and in Pliny's time ſix per cent. was the public cuſtomary intereſt of money; Juſtinian reduced it to four per cent. and money lent to maſters of ſhips to one per cent. per month. This kind of intereſt had before been two per cent. per month.

But there was a peculiarity in the Roman method of putting out money to intereſt, which muſt be explained, as we have nothing like it with us. With them it was cuſtomary after one hundred and one months to add ſix per cent. to the principal, beſides the ſimple intereſt which was due upon the ſum. This they called *anatociſmos*, ſo that their uſual rate for long intereſt was neither ſimple nor compound, but ſomething between both.

LECTURE XVI.

Of the Engliſh Coins. Saxon and Norman Coins compared. When Gold and Copper began to be coined by our Kings. A Table of all the Changes in the Value of Engliſh Coins. The Proportion between Gold and Silver, and between Coin and Commodities in different Periods of our Hiſtory. A Table of all the Changes of the French Coins from the Time of Charlemaigne. A general Idea of the Proportion it has, at different Times, borne to Commodities in France. Of the different Rates of Intereſt in Europe in different Periods. The Number and Riches of a People to be conſidered in computing the proportional Quantities of the Money they raiſe.

THE Engliſh money, though the ſame names do by no means correſpond to the ſame quantity of precious metal as formerly, has not changed ſo much as the money of moſt other countries. In this part of my ſubject I am ſo happy as to be able to give a much more complete deduction of the changes both in the value of money, and the proportion it has borne to commodities, than in the preceding. A view of all the changes which the ſtandard of our money has ever undergone, I ſhall preſent to you at once, in a table extracted from the account lately publiſhed of *Engliſh coins* by the ſociety of antiquaries. But previous to this it will be proper to inform you, that, in the Saxon times, a ſhilling (at one time at leaſt) was reckoned to contain five-pence, or pennyweights, and one

one pound contained forty-eight ſhillings, which is the ſame number of pence that a pound contains now.

However, the proportion between the *ſhilling* and either the *penny* on the one hand, or the *pound* on the other, ſeems not to have been ſo conſtant and uniform as that between the *penny* and the *pound*. During the firſt race of the kings of France, the French *ſou*, or *ſhilling*, appears, upon different occaſions, to have contained five, twelve, twenty, and forty pennies. From the time of Charlemagne among the French, and from that of William the Conqueror among the Engliſh, the proportion between the *pound*, the *ſhilling*, and the *penny*, ſeems to have been uniformily the ſame as at preſent*.

Though a different diſtribution of the ſubdiviſions of a pound was introduced with the Normans, yet William the Conqueror brought no new weight into his mint; but the ſame weight uſed there ſome ages after, and called the *pound of the tower of London*, was the old pound of the Saxon moniers before the conqueſt. This pound was lighter than the pound troy by three ounces. It was divided into two hundred and forty-pence, and conſequently the intrinſic value of that ſum in weight was the ſame as the value of fifty-eight ſhillings and three half-pence of our preſent coined money.

It may not be improper alſo to premiſe, that Edward III. was the firſt of our kings who coined any gold; and that no copper was coined by authority before James I. Theſe pieces were not called *farthings*, but *farthing tokens*, and all people were at liberty to take or refuſe them. Before the time of Edward III. gold was exchanged, like any other commodity, by its weight; and before the time of James I. copper was ſtamped by any perſon who choſe to do it.

* Smith's Wealth of Nations, vol. i. p. 40.

The

The following table exhibits, at one view, the ſtandard of our ſilver money as to goodneſs, together with the true weight of two hundred and forty pence, ſixty groats, or twenty ſhillings, making the pound ſterling in tale, and the preſent intrinſic value of ſo much ſilver as was reſpectively contained in the ſame pound ſterling at the ſeveral times there noted in the firſt column. To this is alſo added, in the laſt, the ſame intrinſic value of the nominal pound ſterling, expreſſed in decimals of our preſent ſterling pound; whereby the proportion of the intrinſic value of any ſum of money mentioned in books, to the intrinſic value of ſo much money as it is now called by the ſame appellation, may immediately be known, and the prices of proviſions, labour, and materials in former times, may readily be compared with the different prices which the like proviſions, labour, and materials, are found to bear at this day.

The meaning of the term *old ſterling*, in the ſecond column of the following table, is that eleven ounces two pennyweights of fine ſilver, were contained in twelve ounces of old coin. The numbers which expreſs the alterations made afterwards ſhow the additional quantity of alloy uſed in ſome reigns.

TABLE

TABLE.

Year of the king's reign, and A. D.	Standard of Silver.	Weight of 20s. in tale.			Value of the same in present money.			Proportion.
		oz.	dwts.	grs.	l.	s.	d.	
Conqueſt - 1066	Old ſterling	11	5	0	2	18	1½	2,906
28 Edward I. 1300	Ditto	11	2	5	2	17	5	2,871
18 Edw. III. 1344	Ditto	10	3	0	2	12	5¼	2,621
20 ditto - 1346	Ditto	10	0	0	2	11	8	2,583
27 ditto - 1353	Ditto	9	0	0	2	6	6	2,325
13 Henry IV. 1412	Ditto	7	10	0	1	18	9	1,937
4 Edw. IV. 1464	Ditto	6	0	0	1	11	0	1,55
18 Hen. VIII. 1527	Ditto	5	6	16	1	7	6¾	1,378
34 ditto - 1543	w. 1oz. 2dw.	5	0	0	1	3	3¼	1,163
36 ditto - 1545	5 2	Ditto			0	13	11½	0,698
37 ditto - 1546	7 2	Ditto			0	9	3¾	0,466
3 Edw. VI. 1549	5 2	3	6	16	Ditto			Ditto
5 ditto - 1551	8 2	Ditto			0	4	7¾	0,232
6 ditto - 1552	0 1	4	0	0	1	0	6¾	1,028
1 Mary - 1553	0 2	Ditto			1	0	5¾	1,024
2 Eliz. - 1560	Old ſterling	Ditto			1	0	8	1,033
43 ditto - 1601	Ditto	3	17	10	1	0	0	1,000

It appears that in the twenty-ſeventh year of king Edward III. 1353, when the firſt conſiderable coinage of gold was made in England, fine gold was rated in our coins at eleven times and about one-ſixth part as much as fine ſilver. But even this value of gold was thought too great in the time of Henry IV. and the ſame being complained of, by the regulations made in his thirteenth year, 1412, gold came to be exchanged for ten times and about a third of an equal quantity of ſilver. In the fourth year of Edward IV. 1464, gold was again valued at a little more than eleven times the price of ſilver. During one hundred and forty years next following there was ſcarce any alteration made in the proportional value of the two metals, excepting only in the times of confuſion, between the thirty-fourth year of Henry VIII. and the

the laſt of Edward VI. and by the indentures of the forty-third year of queen Elizabeth, and thoſe of the firſt of king James, 1603, the pound weight of fine gold in the coin was yet rated at ſomewhat leſs than eleven pounds weight of ſilver. But ſoon after that time the price of gold was ſenſibly advanced, the pound weight of it being valued in the indentures of the ſecond year of king James at more than twelve pounds and an ounce; and in the ſeventeenth year of the ſame king, at more than thirteen pounds four ounces and three penny weights of fine ſilver. When guineas came firſt to be coined for twenty ſhilling pieces, in the fifteenth year of Charles II. 1663, the pound of fine gold was made equivalent to fourteen pounds five ounces ſixteen pennyweights and nine grains of fine ſilver; which value (by the running of guineas as they now do for twenty-one ſhillings each) is yet farther advanced to fifteen pounds two ounces ten pennyweights and ſeven grains of the ſame ſilver.

The Scots money pound contained, from the time of Alexander the Firſt, to that of Robert Bruce, a pound of ſilver of the ſame weight and fineneſs with the Engliſh pound ſterling. Their pound and penny now contain about a thirty-ſixth part of their original value*.

Having thus exhibited a view of the ſucceſſive changes of the Engliſh coin to the preſent time, I ſhall endeavour to aſcertain the proportion that money has from time to time borne to commodities, by means of the prices of things taken at proper intervals, from the times of the Saxons down to our own.

In the year 712 and 727 an ewe and lamb were rated at one ſhilling Saxon money till a fortnight after Eaſter. Between 900

* Smith on the Wealth of Nations, vol. I. p. 39. 41.

and 1000, two hydes of land, each containing about one hundred and twenty acres, were ſold for one hundred ſhillings. In 1000, by king Ethelred's laws, a horſe was rated at thirty ſhillings, a mare, or a colt of a year old, at twenty ſhillings, a mule, or young aſs, at twelve ſhillings, an ox at thirty pence, a cow at twenty-four pence, a ſwine eight-pence, a ſheep at one ſhilling. In 1043, a quarter of wheat was ſold for ſixty pence. From theſe, and ſome other ſimilar facts, it is computed that in the Saxon times, there was ten times leſs money in proportion to commodities than at preſent. Their nominal ſpecies, therefore, being about three times higher than ours, the price of every thing, according to our preſent language, muſt be reckoned thirty times cheaper than it is now.

In the reign of William the Conqueror commodities were ten times cheaper than they are at preſent; from which we cannot help forming a very high idea of the wealth and power of that king. For the revenue of William the Conqueror was four hundred thouſand pounds per annum, every pound being equal to that weight of ſilver. Conſequently the whole may be eſtimated at one million two hundred thouſand pounds of the preſent computation; a ſum which, conſidering the different value of money between that period and the preſent time, was equivalent to twelve millions of modern eſtimation.

The moſt neceſſary commodities do not ſeem to have advanced their price from William the Conqueror to Richard I.

The price of corn in the reign of Henry III. was near half the mean price in our times. Biſhop Fleetwood has ſhown that in the year 1240, which was in this reign, four pounds thirteen ſhillings and nine-pence was worth about fifty pounds of our preſent money. About the latter end

end of this reign Robert de Hay, rector of Souldern, agreed to receive one hundred ſhillings to purchaſe to himſelf and ſucceſſor the annual rent of five ſhillings, in full compenſation of an acre of corn.

Butchers meat, in the time of the great ſcarcity in the reign of Edward II. was, by a parliamentary ordinance, ſold three times cheaper than our mean price at preſent; poultry ſomewhat lower, becauſe being now conſidered as a delicacy, it has riſen beyond its proportion. The mean price of corn in this period was half the preſent value, and the mean price of cattle one-eighth.

In the next reign, which was that of Edward III. the moſt neceſſary commodities were, in general, about three or four times cheaper than they are at preſent.

In theſe times knights, who ſerved on horſeback in the army, had two ſhillings a day, and a foot archer ſix-pence; which laſt would now be equal to a crown a day. This pay has continued nearly the ſame nominally (only that in the time of the commonwealth the pay of the horſe was advanced to two ſhillings and ſix-pence, and that of the foot to one ſhilling; though it was reduced again at the reſtoration) but ſoldiers were proportionably of a better rank formerly.

In the time of Henry VI. corn was about half its preſent value, other commodities much cheaper. Biſhop Fleetwood has determined, from a moſt accurate conſideration of every circumſtance, that five pounds in this reign was equivalent to twenty-eight, or thirty, now.

In the time of Henry VII. many commodities were three times as cheap here, and in all Europe, as they are at preſent, there having been a great increaſe of gold and ſilver in Europe ſince his time, occaſioned by the diſcovery of America.

The commodities whoſe price has riſen the moſt ſince before the time of Henry VII. are butcher's meat, fowls and fiſh;

eſpecially the latter. And the reaſon why corn was always much dearer in proportion to other eatables, according to their prices at preſent, is, that in early times agriculture was little underſtood. It required more labour and expence, and was more precarious than it is at preſent. Indeed, notwithſtanding the high price of corn in the times we are ſpeaking of, the raiſing of it ſo little anſwered the expence, that agriculture was almoſt univerſally quitted for grazing; which was more profitable, notwithſtanding the low price of butcher's meat. So that there was conſtant occaſion for ſtatutes to reſtrain grazing, and to promote agriculture; and no effectual remedy was found till the bounty upon the exportation of corn; ſince which, above ten times more corn has been raiſed in this country than before.

The price of corn in the time of James I. and conſequently that of other neceſſaries of life, was not lower, but rather higher, than at preſent; wool is not two-thirds of the value it was then; the finer manufactures having rather ſunk in price by the progreſs of art and induſtry, notwithſtanding the increaſe of money. Butcher's meat was higher than at preſent. Prince Henry made an allowance of near four-pence per pound for all the beef and mutton uſed in his family. This may be true with reſpect to London; but the price of butcher's meat in the country, which does not even now much exceed this price at a medium, has certainly greatly increaſed of late years, and particularly in the northern counties.

The FRENCH money has ſuffered much more by the diminution of its value than the Engliſh. Voltaire gives the following general account of it. The numerary pound in the time of Charlemagne was twelve ounces of ſilver. This pound was divided into twenty ſols, and the ſols into twelve deniers. In Europe that ſol, which was equal to a crown at preſent, is

now no more than a light piece of copper with a mixture of at moſt one-eleventh of ſilver. The livre which formerly repreſented twelve ounces of ſilver, is in France no more than twenty copper ſols, and the denier is one-third of that baſe coin we call a liard. Whereas a pound ſterling is worth about twenty-two francs of France, and the Dutch pound is nearly equal to twelve. But the following table will exhibit all the ſucceſſive changes of the French livre in a more particular and diſtinct manner.

Reigns.	Dates.	Value of the Money in the preſent Money of France.		
Charlemagne from - -	763 to 1113	66 Livres.	8 Sols.	0 Den.
Lewis VI. VII. - -	1113 to 1158	18	13	6
Phillip Auguſtus - -	1222	19	18	4⅔
St. Lewis and Phil. the Hardy - - - - -	1226	18	4	11
Phil the Fair - - - - -	1285	17	19	0
Lewis Hutin and Philip the Long - - - -	1313	18	8	10
Charles the Fair - -	1321	17	3	7
Philip de Valois - -	1344	14	11	10
John - - - - - - -	1364	9	19	2⅔
Charles V. - - - - -	1380	9	9	8
Charles VI. - - - - -	1422	7	2	3
Charles VII. - - - -	1461	5	13	9
Lewis XI. - - - - -	1483	4	19	7
Charles VIII. - - - -	1497	4	10	7
Lewis XII. - - - - -	1514	3	19	8
Francis I. - - - - -	1546	3	11	2
Henry II. and Francis II.	1559	3	6	
Charles IX. - - - - -	1574	2	18	7
Henry III. - - - - -	1589	2	12	11
Henry IV. - - - - -	1611	2	8	0
Lewis XIII. - - - -	1642	1	15	3
Lewis XIV. - - - - -	1715	1	4	11
Lewis XV. - - - - -	1720	0	8	0
Preſent Livre - - -	1720	1	0	0

Voltaire

Voltaire alſo gives us the following uſeful caution with reſpect to the computations made by ſeveral conſiderable French writers. Rollin, Fleury, and all the moſt uſeful writers, when they would expreſs the value of talents, minæ and ſeſterces, compute by an eſtimate made before the death of Colbert. But the mark of eight ounces, which was then worth twenty-ſix franks, ten ſols, is now worth forty-nine livres ten ſols; a difference which amounts to near one half. Without remembering this variation, we ſhould have a very erroneous idea of the ſtrength of ancient ſtates, &c.

The changes in the proportion between money and commodities in France may eaſily be imagined to have kept pace pretty nearly with thoſe in England, and therefore need not be particularly pointed out. Accordingly, Voltaire obſerves that all proviſions were eight or ten times cheaper in proportion to the quantity of money in Charlemagne's time; but he cannot be ſuppoſed to ſpeak very accurately, when he ſays that in the reign of Lewis XI. who was cotemporary with Edward IV. money, meaning of the ſame ſtandard, was worth about double of what it is at preſent, and alſo that it was of the ſame value in the reign of Lewis XIII. who reigned in the laſt year of James I. and the beginning of Charles I. For betwixt thoſe two reigns was an interval of one hundred and fifty years, in which was the diſcovery of America, which occaſioned the greateſt general alteration of the proportion between money and commodities that ever was made in this part of the world. In the former reign, therefore, the value of money muſt have been much greater, and perhaps in the latter reign leſs, than he makes it. At preſent the prices of commodities are higher in England than in France, beſides that the poor people of France live upon much leſs than the poor in England, and their armies are maintained at

leſs

leſs expence. It is computed by Mr. Hume, that a Britiſh army of twenty thouſand men is maintained at near as great an expence as ſixty thouſand in France, and that the Engliſh fleet in the war of 1741 required as much money to ſupport it as all the Roman legions in the time of the emperors. However, all that we can conclude from this laſt article, is that money is much more plentiful in Europe at preſent than it was in the Roman empire.

In the thirteenth century the common intereſt which the Jews had for their money, Voltaire ſays, was twenty per cent. But with regard to this we muſt conſider the great contempt that nation was always held in, the large contributions they were frequently obliged to pay, the riſk they run of never receiving the principal, the frequent confiſcation of all their effects, and the violent perſecutions to which they were expoſed; in which circumſtances it was impoſſible for them to lend money at all unleſs for a moſt extravagant intereſt, and much diſproportioned to its real value. Before the diſcovery of America, and the plantation of our colonies, the intereſt of money was generally twelve per cent. all over Europe; and it has been growing gradually leſs ſince that time till it is now generally about four or five.

When ſums of money are ſaid to be raiſed by a whole people, in order to form a juſt eſtimate of it, we muſt take into conſideration not only the quantity of the precious metal according to the ſtandard of the coin, and the proportion of the quantity of coin to the commodities, but alſo the number and riches of the people who raiſe it. For admitting the two circumſtances which have been already explained to be the ſame; ſtill populous and rich countries will much more eaſily raiſe any certain ſum of money than one that is thinly inhabited, and chiefly

chiefly by poor people. This circumſtance greatly adds to our ſurpriſe at the vaſt ſums of money raiſed by William the Conqueror, who had a revenue nearly in value equal to twelve millions of pounds of our money (allowance being made for the ſtandard of coin and the proportion it bore to commodities) from a country not near ſo populous or rich as England is at preſent. Indeed the accounts hiſtorians give us of the revenues of this prince, and the treaſure he left behind him, are barely credible.

Next to judging of the real value of ſums of money mentioned by hiſtorians, it is of importance to have juſt ideas of the *meaſures of length and capacity*, which occur in them. But theſe are ſubject to little variation, ſo that the common tables of thoſe things, whether adapted to the preſent or former times; to our own or remote nations, are ſufficient for the purpoſe of reading hiſtory, and require no illuſtration.

PART

PART IV.

DIRECTIONS FOR FACILITATING THE STUDY OF HISTORY.

LECTURE XVII.

Uſe of Compendiums. The beſt Epitomes of Hiſtory. Mechanical Methods which have been uſed to facilitate the Study of Hiſtory. Chronological Tables. Character of different Tables. Sturt's Tables. Genealogical Tables.

IN the fourth diviſion of our ſubject, which we are now entering upon, I propoſed to give you ſome directions for facilitating the ſtudy of hiſtory; both that it may more effectually anſwer the end propoſed by it, and that you may purſue it with more ſatisfaction.

One of the moſt uſeful directions I can give you is to begin with authors who preſent you with a *compendium*, or general view of the whole ſubject of hiſtory, and afterwards to apply to the ſtudy of any particular hiſtory with which you chuſe to be more thoroughly acquainted. This is like ſketching an entire

outline before you finiſh any part of a picture, and learning the grand diviſions of the earth before you ſtudy the geography of particular countries; and ſeveral very obvious advantages attend this method, to whatever it be applied.

The principal advantage of this method in ſtudying hiſtory is, that you have hereby a clear idea what figure the hiſtory to which you propoſe to give more particular attention makes in the hiſtory of the world; and by this means are enabled to judge, in ſome meaſure, of the importance of it. Beſides, it will contribute greatly to your ſatisfaction in reading hiſtory, and anſwer ſome uſeful purpoſes in the ſtudy of it to have ſome idea of the preceding, the cotemporary, and (if it be ancient hiſtory) of the ſucceeding ſtate of the world in general, and of that particular part of the world of which you are reading. Whereas that knowledge can be but very limited, and ſcanty, which is derived from ever ſo minute an inſpection of any ſingle portion of hiſtory. As well might we expect a good judgment of the regularity and beauty of an extenſive building from viewing a ſmall part of it. We are only miſled by ſuch a method of ſtudy. But a cloſe examination of particular parts is very uſeful after a general view of the whole of any thing.

For this reaſon, the hiſtory of our own country, though the moſt worthy of a particular ſtudy, is not proper to begin with. We can form no idea of the Engliſh nation in general, and the hiſtory of it, with regard to the reſt of the world, unleſs we can compare an idea of the whole compaſs of it with a like idea of the whole compaſs of hiſtory in general, or that of other particular nations. But, when once we have got a general idea how the whole courſe of hiſtory, as we may ſay, lies, we apply with pleaſure and advantage to the more minute conſideration

ſideration of our own country, and prevent any prejudice or inconvenience of any kind, which we ſhould be expoſed to from a cloſe attention to ſo ſmall a portion of hiſtory, without knowing its relation to the whole of hiſtory, of which it is a part.

This ſame advice is applicable to a perſon who, after having gained a knowledge of the hiſtory of a particular country, propoſes to ſtudy any particular *period* of it. Let him firſt make himſelf acquainted with the hiſtory of the country in general, and then ſtudy the hiſtory of the particular period. It is but a very imperfect idea that a perſon could get of the hiſtory of the civil wars in England during the reign of Charles I. for inſtance, from reading ſuch a ſingle hiſtory as that of Clarendon, were the performance ever ſo excellent, while confined to the occurrences of that time. We ought to go very far back in our hiſtory to have a juſt idea of the true ſtate of the parties that exiſted in thoſe times, and the oppoſition of which occaſioned ſuch a dreadful convulſion in the Engliſh government.

I may add, that it is men's forming their notions of ſuch times as theſe from detached pieces, particularly ſuch as are written by the known friends of one or other of the parties, from profeſſed panegyricks or invectives, or from ſermons (which are always one or the other of them, and generally the extremes of the one or the other) that they are more than miſled in their ideas of theſe times. From this method of forming ideas of hiſtory is derived much of the bigotry, and ſpirit of faction, which has prevailed in this, or any other nation. This advice, therefore, to peruſe ſome account of the whole of hiſtory before you apply to any particular hiſtory, and the whole of any particular hiſtory before you ſtudy any particular period of it, is of more importance than at firſt ſight it appears to be.

This general acquaintance with the whole courſe of hiſtory will make it leſs neceſſary to attend to the *order* in which particular hiſtories are read; becauſe a perſon thus prepared will be able to refer any particular hiſtory he takes up to its proper place in univerſal hiſtory. And though particular hiſtories be read without any regard to the order of time or place, they will eaſily range themſelves, as we may ſay, without any confuſion in their proper place in his mind.

Beſides, univerſal hiſtory is an immenſe field, with which the compaſs of no ſingle life is ſufficient to bring a man even tolerably acquainted. Since, therefore, it is only a part of hiſtory that any perſon can propoſe to make himſelf intimately acquainted with, it is of advantage to be able to chuſe the moſt important part, and what is moſt worthy of his attention, which he will be able to do from having a general idea of the whole ſubject of hiſtory in its proper order and connexion.

The moſt celebrated epitome of univerſal hiſtory written in Latin is *Turſelin's*, which is read in moſt of the foreign univerſities. It is indeed a judicious and elegant performance; but in almoſt every page of the modern parts there are ſuch marks of ſtrong attachment to the principles of Popery as cannot but give diſguſt to a zealous proteſtant. Boſſuet's epitome of univerſal hiſtory is greatly and deſervedly admired in France; but it brings the hiſtory no lower than the time of Charlemagne. One of the moſt uſeful epitome's, upon the whole, is that written by Baron Holberg in Latin, and tranſlated with improvements into Engliſh by Gregory Sharpe. The principal defect in it is, that too little notice is taken of the hiſtory of Greece. The moſt valuable of the larger kind of epitomes are Rollin's of the ancient hiſtory, and Puffendorf's of the modern.

One of the moſt obvious contrivances to reduce hiſtory into a ſhort compaſs, and to make an entire courſe of it eaſy to be comprehended, and at the ſame time to obſerve a proper diſtinction between the parts of it, has been by CHRONOLOGICAL TABLES; and if they conſiſt of nothing more than an enumeration of the capital events in hiſtory, thrown together promiſcuouſly, without any diſtinction of kingdoms, regard being only had to the order of time in which the events happened, they have their uſe. We thereby ſee the principal things that hiſtory exhibits, and from the dates annexed to each article, may form an idea of the interval of time between each of them. Such tables as theſe are publiſhed along with a variety of ſingle hiſtories, to which, indeed, they are particularly ſuited. Such is the *Short Chronicle* prefixed to *Newton's Chronology*.

But when a hiſtory is very complex, it may eaſily be conceived to be a great advantage to have the ſeparate parts kept diſtinct, by being arranged in different columns. By this means we have a diſtinct idea of the courſe of any ſingle hiſtory, and at the ſame time a clear comparative view of the cotemporary ſtate of any other hiſtory which runs parallel with it. The confuſion attending the neglect of this method may be ſeen in the chronological tables publiſhed with the *Univerſal Hiſtory*, and the advantage of adopting it in ſuch tables as *Marſhall's Tallents*, &c. Indeed thoſe adapted to the Univerſal Hiſtory, could not have been brought into any tolerable compaſs on a more diſtinct and and perfect plan.

Beſides a diſtinct view of the ſucceſſion of events in different hiſtories, it is an advantage to have, in ſeparate columns, an account of the *great men*, in arts or arms, which each age has produced. This has been exhibited by the laſt mentioned authors

thors and others. Two columns are quite ſufficient for this purpoſe; one for *ſtateſmen* and *warriors*, and the other for *men of learning*.

Another improvement in chronological tables has been to annex a variety of *dates*, in diſtinct columns, to every event, to ſave the reader the trouble of reducing the different methods of computation to one another. But many chronologers have multiplied theſe different epochas far beyond any real uſe, ſo as greatly to encumber their page, and leave little room for more valuable matter. *Helvicus*, among others, is an example of this. Four æras are abundantly ſufficient, namely, the year before and after Chriſt, and the Julian period to run through the whole extent of the work; the Olympiads for the courſe of the Grecian hiſtory, and the year of the city for the Roman. Theſe are uſed by Blair.

The laſt and capital improvement in chronological tables, which has been effected in ſome meaſure by Tallent, and Marſhall, more perfectly in *Helvicus*, but moſt completely by *Blair*, is to diſpoſe the events in ſuch a manner, as that the diſtance at which they are placed, without attending to the date in the margin, ſhall give a juſt idea of the real interval of time between them. This is done by having a ſingle line, or any ſet ſpace, appropriated to any certain period of time, or number of years.

In the chronological tables engraved by *Sturt* we ſee a great deal of matter, by a ſingular method, and the help of arbitrary and ſymbolical characters, crouded into a ſhort compaſs; ſo that we ſee the ſtate of the ſeveral kingdoms of Europe for any century ſince the Chriſtian æra in a ſingle page. This author has alſo annexed an alphabetical index to his work, in which, by the help of ſymbols, he has expreſſed the character of every Prince

Prince mentioned in his tables, and the principal events of his life. This ſmall work is valuable for its conciſeneſs, but is not ſo much recommended by its diſtinctneſs.

Very much of the perſpicuity of hiſtory depends on conceiving clearly the order of *generations* and the *right of ſucceſſion* in regal and other families, i. e. in what manner the great perſonages who have been competitors for crowns, or rivals in power, were related to one another. In this reſpect GENEALOGICAL TABLES are of unſpeakable uſe. Indeed it is not poſſible, by words, to give ſo eaſy and perfect a view of the deſcent of families, as by the help of lines and figures. For local poſition is apprehended entirely, with whatever can be repreſented by it, at one view, and without the leaſt danger of miſtake; whereas if the hiſtory of family connexions, which is neceſſarily a very complex and intricate thing, be expreſſed in words, we ſee only a part at a time; and before the whole can be laid before us, in this ſlow manner, ſome eſſential circumſtance will have been forgotten.

The moſt natural order of genealogical tables ſeems to be to place the common ſtock at the head of the table, and the ſeveral deſcents, or ſucceeding generations, each in a lower line appropriated to it; and not to make the order of generations proceed from the left hand to the right, as is done by ſome. But every diſtinct generation ſhould by all means be placed in a line, or ſpace, appropriated to itſelf: otherwiſe, our ideas will be greatly confuſed. The *order* of *birth* in the ſame generation may eaſily be obſerved (as is done in ſome of our beſt tables) by placing the firſt-born to the left hand in the table, and the reſt, according to the order of birth, to the right.

There are a variety of other relations, beſides mere natural deſcent, which it is very uſeful to have a clear idea of, as the

connexion

connexion by marriage, by adoption among the Romans, &c. by which different families are intermixed. And it is poſſible, by different kinds of lines, joining the names ſo connected, how remote ſoever, in the table of generation, to expreſs all theſe relations, without the uſe of words. But as the attempt to expreſs them all by characters diſfigures the table with a great variety of lines, many of them of conſiderable length, and extending themſelves in every direction, it ſeems moſt convenient to expreſs *natural deſcent* only by characters, and to ſubjoin to each name an account, in words, of all its other connexions, referring at moſt from one to another by *marks* contrived for that purpoſe. This method Rapin has taken, in the excellent genealogical tables in his hiſtory of England.

Some valuable tables of genealogy may be ſeen at the end of *Petavius's Chronology*; but the largeſt and moſt compleat body of genealogies is that publiſhed by *Anderſon*; which, in one large volume folio, contains all the genealogies he could collect from the whole body of hiſtory, ancient and modern.

LECTURE XVIII.

Chart of Hiſtory. Chart of Biography. Grey's Memoria Technica. The Method of a common Place-Book for the Purpoſe of Hiſtory.

THE moſt ingenious and uſeful contrivance to facilitate the ſtudy of hiſtory, and to aid the imagination in conceiving diſtinctly, and comprehending the whole courſe of it, in all its parts, co-exiſtent and ſucceſſive, is the *chart of hiſtory* lately imported from France. This is properly a picture of all hiſtory, and is made by ſuch natural methods of expreſſion, that it renders viſible to the eye, without reading, the whole figure and dimenſions of all hiſtory, general and particular; and ſo perfectly ſhows the origin, progreſs, extent, and duration, of all kingdoms and ſtates that ever exiſted, at one view, with every circumſtance of time and place, uniting chronology and geography, that it not only, in the moſt agreeable manner, refreſhes the memory, without the fatigue of reading; but a novice in hiſtory may learn more from it by a mere attentive inſpection of a few hours, than he can acquire by the reading of many weeks or months.

This chart will not, indeed, give a perſon the knowledge of any thing that paſſed *within* a kingdom, and which produced no actual alteration in the extent of its territories, or of the manner in which conqueſts were made or loſt. But a perſon may by the help of it gain a clearer idea *when*, and *by what nations* conqueſts were made, how far they extended, and how long they continued, than he could ever get by reading.

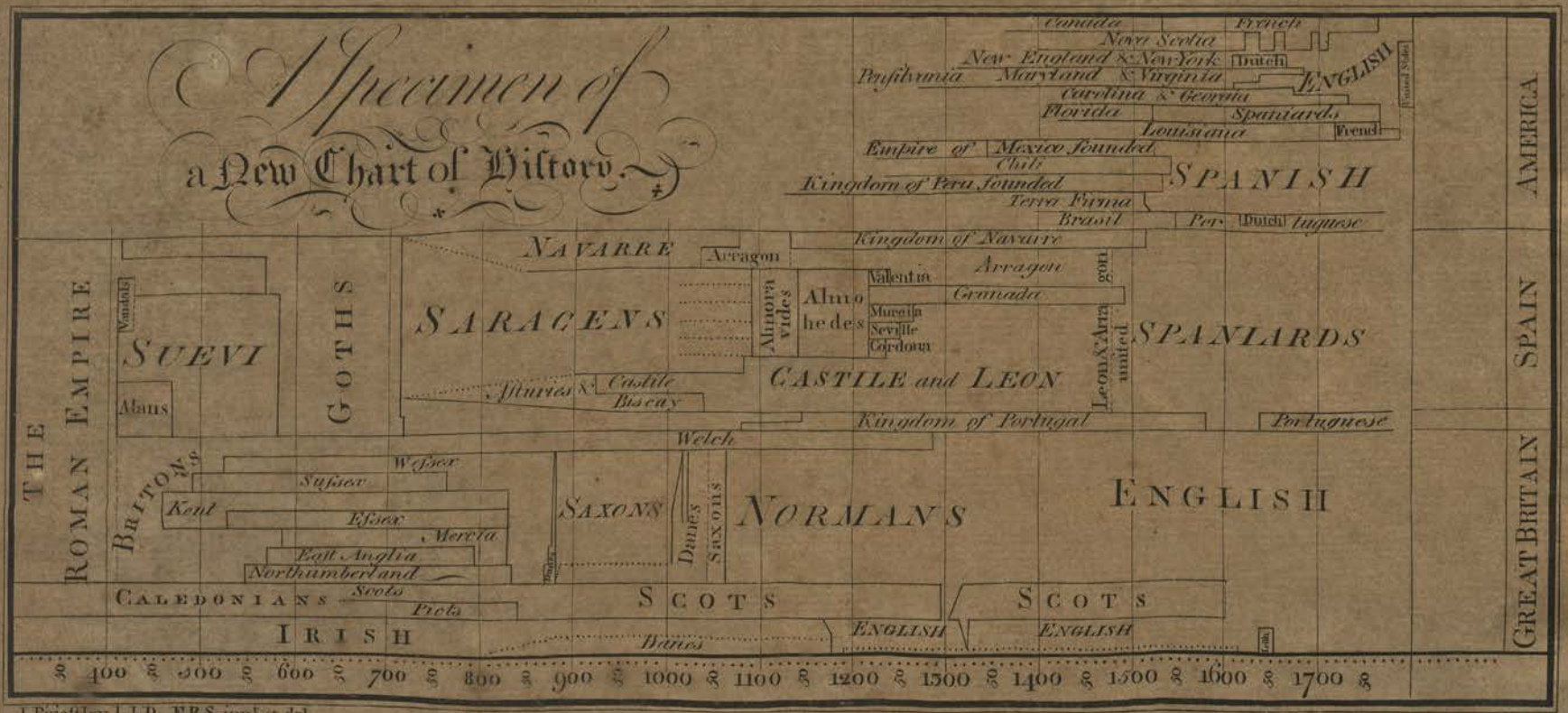
It is obvious to remark, that this chart muſt anſwer, in the compleateſt manner imaginable, almoſt every uſe of a compendium of hiſtory, proper to be read before a larger and fuller courſe be entered upon; and it will prevent any confuſion which might ariſe from reading particular hiſtories without a regard to their proper order of time or place, better than any abſtract of univerſal hiſtory whatever. For it is but caſting our eye for a minute upon this chart, and we ſee, at one glance, the cotemporary ſtate of the whole world at the period of which we are reading, and the preceding and ſucceeding ſtate of the particular country, the hiſtory of which we are ſtudying.

It is an inconvenience in this particular chart that *different ſcales* are made uſe of to repreſent the ſame number of years in different parts of it; ſo that the ſame diſtance, as ſeen by the eye, does not repreſent the ſame portion of time in every part of it. This might eaſily have been obviated by doubling the width of the chart, or at moſt, by omiting the earlier and obſcure part of the hiſtory*.

The ſtate of the world with reſpect to the *perſons* who have made the greateſt figure in it, may be exhibited with much more eaſe and advantage by means of *lines* and *ſpace*, than the ſtate of the world even with reſpect to the different powers to which the parts of it have been ſubject. For whereas, in this, regard muſt be had to both the circumſtances of *time* and *place* (not to ſay that, in many caſes, it is not eaſy to determine when territories were really acquired or loſt) with regard to *ſingle lives*, the circumſtance of *time* only is to be taken in.

* Since this was written I have publiſhed *a new Chart of Hiſtory*, in which I have avoided the faults above-mentioned, and have introduced ſeveral improvements. It is of the ſame ſize with my *Chart of Biography*, drawn upon the ſame ſcale, and made to correſpond to it in all reſpects.

If,



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If, therefore, every man's life be expreſſed by *a line* proportioned to the length of it, and all the lines be adapted to the ſame ſcale, and terminated in their proper places with regard to univerſal time, ſuch *a chart of biography* will exhibit, in the cleareſt manner imaginable, without reading, the entire ſucceſſion of great men in every age and of every profeſſion, with the relative length of their lives. So that if we attend to any period of time, we not only ſee who flouriſhed in it, but how all their ages ſtood with reſpect to one another; whereby we not only ſee who were a man's cotemporaries, but alſo how far any of them was before him, or how far after him, in the order of their births or deaths; which will be of uſe to aſſiſt us in judging of the advantages or diſadvantages they reſpectively lay under with regard to knowledge and inſtruction.

How much more readily, and with how much leſs fatigue of the imagination, lines thus diſpoſed will ſuggeſt the idea of the relative length of men's lives, may be conceived from this circumſtance, that the names of the *numbers* which expreſs the time of a perſon's birth and death, do not ſuggeſt a definite idea of the interval between them, till they be reduced to the idea of *extenſion*; an expedient which, I believe, all perſons naturally and mechanically, have recourſe to. Our idea of *time* is always that of a *line*, and a longer or ſhorter ſpace of time is repreſented in our minds by the idea of a longer or ſhorter line; ſo that, in this method, the proceſs of the mind, of reducing intervals of time to lines, is ſuperſeded, and done in a more accurate manner than any perſon could do it in his own mind for himſelf.

Moreover, a biographical chart of this kind, filled with names properly ſelected, in every kind of eminence, will exhibit what ages have abounded moſt with great men, and what were

barren of them; and this in a more comprehenſive and diſtinct manner than can be acquired by reading; a view which cannot fail agreeably to amuſe a ſpeculative mind.

It will be a neceſſary, and remedileſs defect in every chart of this nature, that the time of the death, and eſpecially of the birth of many perſons cannot be found. But then it will be eaſy to contrive proper characters to expreſs the uncertainty there may be with reſpect to either of theſe particulars.

It hardly need be mentioned, that it cannot be expected that ſuch a chart as this ſhould be drawn up according to the real *merit* of the perſons inſerted in it. Beſides, it is a regard to *celebrity* only that can make it of any uſe to a reader of hiſtory. A chart of real merit would, no doubt, be very different from this. Many names which make the greateſt figure in the *tablet of fame* would not be found in that of merit; and again, many names would be ſeen in that of merit, which no perſon who became acquainted with men by fame only, would have any knowledge of *.

In this enumeration of the methods to illuſtrate and retain hiſtory, we muſt by no means forget the ingenious Mr. Grey's *memorial lines*, of ſuch admirable uſe to recollect *dates* with exactneſs. Of all things, there is the greateſt difficulty in retaining *numbers*. They are like grains of ſand, which will not cohere in the order in which we place them; but by tranſmuting *figures* into *letters*, which eaſily cohere, in every form of combination, we fix and retain numbers in the mind with the ſame eaſe and certainty with which we remember words. Thus when Mr. Grey, in his *Memoria Technica*, annexes a chronological date to the termination of the name, it

* Such a *Chart of Biography* as this I have drawn up and publiſhed, and a ſpecimen of it, and alſo one of the *Chart of Hiſtory*, are given with this work.

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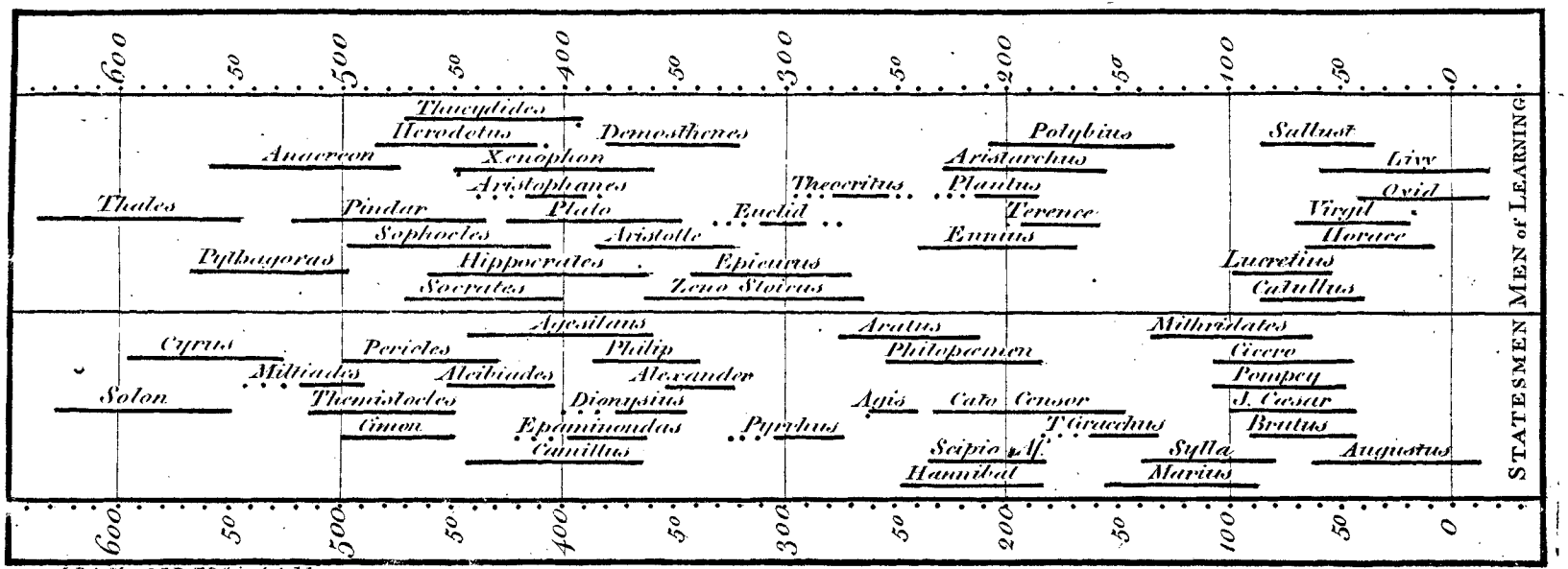
to face p. 156.

A Specimen of a Chart of Biography.



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is only pronouncing it with his variation, and we inſtantly recollect its proper date. For example, if we can remember that Mr. Grey calls Rome *Romput* (which the very oddneſs of the variation will make us leſs liable to forget) ſince he makes (*p*) to ſtand for ſeven (*u*) for five, and (*t*) for three, we immediately recollect, that ſeven hundred and fifty-three before Chriſt is the date uſually aſſigned to the building of Rome. If, moreover, we can learn to repeat the names of kings in the order in which he has digeſted them (which his verſes, rough as they are, make it pretty eaſy to do) we ſhall have not only the years when each of them began their reigns, but alſo the order of their ſucceſſion.

As this method is ſo eaſily learned, and may be of ſo much uſe in recollecting dates, when other methods are not at hand, particularly in converſation upon the ſubject of hiſtory, when dates are often wanted, I think all perſons of a liberal education inexcuſable, who will not take the ſmall degree of pains that is neceſſary to make themſelves maſters of it; or who think any thing mean, or unworthy of their notice, which is ſo uſeful and convenient.

Mr. Grey's attempt to apply this method to the numbers which occur in aſtronomy, tables of weights and meaſures, &c. is likewiſe extremely uſeful; but his application of it to geography is unnatural and uſeleſs.

In order to ſecure the moſt valuable fruits of hiſtory, it is abſolutely neceſſary that they be repoſited in a *common-place book*. For the memory of no perſon whatever, who reads much hiſtory, is ſufficient to retain all he reads, or even the moſt valuable part of it. The eaſieſt method I can direct you to for making a common-place book for this purpoſe is the following.

Whenever

Whenever you meet with any fact which you wiſh to preſerve, put it down under ſome general head, as *religion, government, commerce, war, &c.* reſerving every two oppoſite pages in your book for one of theſe heads, and note it in a ſeparate place at the end, or beginning of the book, with the page in which it may be found; and when any two pages are filled, either open two other pages with the ſame title; or, if you perceive that the title you firſt began with was too comprehenſive, divide it into whatever parts you think moſt convenient. If theſe titles ſhould grow ſo numerous as that any of them cannot eaſily be found in the promiſcuous manner in which they were firſt ſet down, it will be eaſy, at any time, to reduce them to the order of the alphabet, in another page; and the former, which will then be ſuperfluous, may be cancelled.

N. B. *Let the perſon who gives this Lecture and the preceding, come to his claſs prepared to exhibit the different* TABLES, *&c. explained, or mentioned in it.*

LECTURE XIX.

The Terms of Fortification explained, by the Help of a Model of all its Varieties cut in Wood; to enable young Gentlemen to underſtand modern Hiſtory, and the News-Papers, and to judge of the Progreſs of a Siege *.

LECTURE XX.

A regular Progreſs in Hiſtory pleaſing. The Order in which ancient general Hiſtories may moſt conveniently be read, ſo as to make them one continued Series of Hiſtory; together with the Character of the Hiſtorians as they are mentioned, and an Account of thoſe Paſſages in other Authors which may ſerve to enlarge the Hiſtory of the ſeveral Periods of which they treat. Of Herodotus.

AS a regular progreſſion in any thing is generally agreeable; and we are carried along the courſe of hiſtory (to uſe a metaphor) with more pleaſure, when we go uniformly with the *current of time*, and are not carried backward and forward,

* My cuſtom was to explain the *model*, without having any thing written to read on the ſubject. The terms belonging to the art of *Fortification* are eaſily learned from books.

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in the courſe of our reading; I ſhall for the ſake of thoſe who have opportunity and leiſure to go to the ſources of ancient hiſtory, give, from *Wheare's Lectures on Hiſtory*, publiſhed by Bohun, a method in which the principal authors of antiquity may be read, ſo as to collect from them a pretty regular ſeries of facts, which will comprize the hiſtory of Aſia, Africa, Greece and Rome till the diſſolution of the empire of Conſtantinople. And for the ſake of thoſe who do not chuſe to depend on *compilers* for the hiſtory of their own country, I ſhall likewiſe name the original authors of the Engliſh hiſtory in the order, in which they may be read, according to the time of which they treat.

I ſhall alſo take this opportunity of noting a few of the moſt neceſſary obſervations on the characters of the principal hiſtorians; and to the accounts of each author in the regular ſeries of the ancient hiſtorians, I ſhall ſubjoin an account of thoſe other authors, and paſſages of other hiſtorians, which may be of uſe to enlarge and complete the hiſtory of the period he treats of; that any perſon may either read the principal authors only, which follow one another, in the order of time, or may, as he has opportunity, get a fuller and more ſatisfactory knowledge from the other authors of any particular period before he proceeds to another. I ſhall alſo carefully diſtinguiſh the ſubjects of every hiſtory, and the period of time in which it falls, compared with the time in which the author lived, as one circumſtance proper to be taken into conſideration in judging of the credibility of any hiſtorian.

As the hiſtories of Greece and Rome have little or no connexion till the final conqueſt of Greece by the Romans, I ſhall often depart from the ſtrict order of time, not to interrupt the order of reading the Grecian and Aſiatic hiſtory by a

regard to the cotemporary hiſtory of Rome, but begin the Roman hiſtory after the conqueſt of Greece.

The oldeſt hiſtory extant, next to the hiſtorical books of the Old Teſtament, is that of *Herodotus* of Halicarnaſſus, who flouriſhed about four hundred and fifty years before the chriſtian æra, a little after the invaſion of Greece by Xerxes. His hiſtory compriſes probably every thing he had an opportunity of learning concerning the hiſtory of the Lydians, Ionians, Lycians, Egyptians, Perſians, Greeks, and Macedonians. Computing from the earlieſt of his accounts to the lateſt, his hiſtory may be reckoned to commence about ſeven hundred and thirteen years before Chriſt, and to reach to about the year 479 before Chriſt; a period of about two hundred and thirty-four years.

This author was never charged with partiality except by Plutarch with regard to the Bæotians only, which is not worth our notice, ſince the Bæotians were Plutarch's countrymen, and he could not bear that any reflection, though ever ſo juſt, ſhould be caſt upon them. But he is generally thought to be too fond of the marvellous. It is certain that he has inſerted many fabulous things in his hiſtory, though very often with ſufficient intimations of his own diſbelief, or ſuſpicion of them. And it is an argument greatly in favour of this ancient writer, that his chronology requires leſs correction, according to Newton's canons, than that of any ſubſequent Greek hiſtorian. The greateſt inconvenience attending the reading of him ariſes from his *method*, which is the moſt irregular and digreſſive that can be conceived; ſome entire hiſtories coming in as it were by way of *parentheſis* in the bodies of others. But with all his faults he is a moſt pleaſing writer.

A more particular account of ſeveral things in the period of which Herodotus treats may be extracted from the following authors. Juſtin, book i. ii. iii. and vii. Xenophon's Cyropædia. The lives of Ariſtides, Themiſtocles, Cimon, Miltiades, and Pauſanias written by Plutarch and Cornelius Nepos. And thoſe of Anaximander, Zeno, Empedocles, Heraclitus, and Democritus by Diogenes Laertius.

LECTURE XXI.

Of Thucydides, Xenophon, Diodorus Siculus, Quintus Curtius, Arrian, Juſtin, Plutarch, and Cornelius Nepos.

NEXT to Herodotus, *Thucydides* is to be read. He propoſed to write the hiſtory of the Peleponneſian war; but introductory to this, his principal and profeſſed ſubject, he gives a ſummary view of the hiſtory of Greece from the departure of Xerxes to the commencement of that war, which connects his hiſtory with that of Herodotus. His hiſtory, however, reaches no farther than the twenty-firſt year of the Peloponneſian war.

Thucydides was an Athenian, and employed by his country in ſome command in the war of which he treats; but not being crowned with ſucceſs, in an undertaking to which the forces he was entruſted with were not equal, he was deprived of his command by that inconſtant people, and obliged to take refuge among the Lacedæmonians.

It

It is impoſſible to diſcover any marks of partiality in this writer, notwithſtanding we cannot read him without making ourſelves a party with the Athenians. There is all the appearance imaginable of the ſtricteſt fidelity, and the moſt punctual adherence to truth in his hiſtory; notwithſtanding he was probably the firſt hiſtorian who introduced the unnatural cuſtom of putting rhetorical and fictitious harangues into the mouths of his principal actors. For the ſpeeches which occur in Herodotus, who wrote before him, are more like converſation than formal harangues, and compared with theſe, deſerve not the name of *ſpeeches*.

The exactneſs of Thucydides, in obſerving chronological order, in his hiſtory of the events of a very various and complex ſcene of actions, obliges him to interrupt the thread of his narration in a method that is very painful and diſagreeable to a reader. But notwithſtanding this, his hiſtory is extremely intereſting.

To complete the period of the hiſtory of which Thucydides treats, after his firſt book let the eleventh and twelfth of Diodorus Siculus be read, together with Plutarch's Themiſtocles, Ariſtides, Pauſanias and Cimon, and the ſecond and third books of Juſtin. And after the whole of Thucydides read the lives of Alcibiades, Chabrias, Thraſybulus, and Lyſias, written by Plutarch or Cornelius Nepos, the fourth and fifth books of Juſtin, and the firſt book of Oroſius.

Next to Thucydides, let the firſt and ſecond books of *Xenophon's hiſtory of Greece* be read. This completes the hiſtory of the Peloponneſian war, with the cotemporary affairs of the Medes and Perſians. After this let him proceed to the *expedition of Cyrus*, and the return of the Greeks; and laſtly, the remainder of his

hiſtory of Greece, which contains an account of the affairs of the Greeks and Perſians to the battle of Mantinæa, which happened in the year 363 before Chriſt; ſo that all the hiſtorical books of Xenophon comprize a period of about forty-eight years.

Xenophon's hiſtory is properly that of his own times, and as he was the firſt general and philoſopher, as well as beſt hiſtorian of his age, he had the beſt opportunity of being acquainted with, and the beſt capacity of judging of, every thing of which he writes. With regard to his country, he was in circumſtances very ſimilar to thoſe of Thucydides, and he appears to be equally impartial. But he is much happier in the ſimplicity, as well as true elegance, of his ſtyle and manner. He ſeems to keep a medium between the looſe excurſive manner of Herodotus, and the extreme rigour of Thucydides, whoſe formal harangues he has likewiſe, in a great meaſure, dropped. But a barrenneſs of remarkable events in the hiſtory of Greece of which he treats, as well as the mangled ſtate in which his works have come down to us, makes his hiſtory leſs engaging, and I believe leſs generally read, than either of the fore-mentioned authors. But his *Anabaſis*, in which he relates the adventures of a body of ten thouſand Greeks, under his own command, in their return to Greece from the very heart of the Perſian empire, is highly engaging. As for his hiſtory of *Cyrus the Elder*, it has all the appearance of being compoſed with a view to exhibit the moſt perfect idea he could conceive of an accompliſhed prince, both with reſpect to the arts of peace and war.

To complete the hiſtory of all that period of which Xenophon treats, read the lives of Lyſander, Ageſilaus, Artaxerxes, Thraſybulus, Chabrias, Conon, and Datames written by Plutarch,

tarch, or Cornelius Nepos; the fourth, and fifth books of Juſtin, and the thirteenth, fourteenth and fifteenth of Diodorus Siculus.

After Xenophon's works read the fifteenth and ſixteenth books of *Diodorus Siculus*, which contain the hiſtories of Greece and Perſia from the battle of Mantinæa to the beginning of the reign of Alexander the Great, in the year 336 before Chriſt.

Diodorus flouriſhed in the time of Julius Cæſar and Auguſtus. He ſpared no pains, or expence, in reading or travelling, to collect materials for an univerſal hiſtory, from the earlieſt account of things to his own times; and the ſmall remains we have of it bear ſufficient marks of his great labour and fidelity. But the merit of that part of his immenſe and valuable work which has come down to us, is that of a faithful compiler. For all the laſt books of his hiſtory are, in all probability, irrecoverably loſt; though there are ſome who pretend that they ſtill may be extant in ſome obſcure part of Sicily. Of forty books, of which the entire work conſiſted, the five firſt, which bring the hiſtory of the world to the Trojan war, are entire. The next five are wanting; but from the eleventh to the twentieth inclusive, the work is complete. The hiſtory of thoſe two books of Diodorus will be more complete by reading the lives of Chabrias, Dion, Ephicrates, Timotheus, Phocion and Timoleon, written by Cornelius Nepos.

After theſe two books of Diodorus Siculus, read Arrian's hiſtory of Alexander. To make this hiſtory more complete read alſo Quintus Curtius, the tenth and eleventh books of Juſtin, and Plutarch's life of Alexander.

As great an encourager as Alexander the Great was of learned men, in an age which abounded with them, he has been ſo unfortunate, that none of the many hiſtories of his exploits which

were

were written by his cotemporaries have reached our times; a misfortune which, it is remarkable, he ſhares in common with Auguſtus and Trajan, who were nearly in the ſame circumſtances. The oldeſt of the hiſtories of Alexander now extant are thoſe of Quintus Curtius, and Arrian, who lived four hundred years after his death. The hiſtory of Arrian is an evident, and in all appearance, a faithful compilation from authors of the beſt authority, and who lived neareſt the times of Alexander; particularly from the commentaries of Ariſtobulus and Ptolemy Lagus. He has ſo happily ſucceeded in a ſtudied imitation of the ſtyle and manner of Xenophon, that he is often called the young Xenophon. There is alſo extant an hiſtory of India by this author. The leaſt praiſe of Arrian, is that of an hiſtorian. His *Enchiridion*, which is a compendium of Epictetus's philoſophy, has ever been acknowledged to be the moſt beautiful piece of ancient heathen morality.

The hiſtory of *Quintus Curtius* is, upon the whole, an agreeable performance; but there appears to be too great a diſplay of oratory, an affectation of fine thoughts, ſhining expreſſions, and eloquent ſpeeches upon every occaſion, to make it thoroughly ſatisfactory as a hiſtory.

After Arrian read the eighteenth, nineteenth, and twentieth books of Diodorus Siculus, which contain the hiſtory of Greece from the year 323 before Chriſt to the year 301; and to complete this period read alſo the thirteenth, fourteenth, and fifteenth books of Juſtin, and the Demetrius and Eumenes of Plutarch.

After the above mentioned books of Diodorus, read from the ſixteenth to the twenty-ninth book inclusive of *Juſtin*, which brings down the hiſtory to about the year 195 before Chriſt. Juſtin lived under Antoninus Pius about the year 150 after Chriſt. His hiſtory is only an *abridgment*, and as it were the *contents* of

what muſt have been an immenſe and valuable work of *Trogus Pompeius*; being a complete univerſal hiſtory, from the earlieſt account of things to his own time, which was that of Auguſtus. Juſtin has drawn up his compendium with a great deal of propriety and elegance, and it is a very proper book to introduce young perſons to the knowledge of hiſtory.

After the forementioned books of Juſtin, read *Plutarch's lives* of Pyrrhus, Aratus, Agis, Cleomenes and Philopœmen.

The lives of illuſtrious men written by Plutarch, who flouriſhed under the emperor Adrian, about the year 130 after Chriſt, make an excellent ſupplement to univerſal hiſtory. Being more a philoſopher than an hiſtorian, his lives of illuſtrious men conſiſt chiefly of ſuch particular incidents as lead us to form the cleareſt idea of their tempers, characters, and views.

Cornelius Nepos, a writer of the Auguſtian age, who preceded Plutarch nearly in the ſame plan, exhibits an agreeable compendium of the chief tranſactions, and a clear view of the characters, of the principal heroes of ancient times, and, like Plutarch, is alſo uſefully read by way of ſupplement to more regular hiſtories.

To complete the hiſtory contained in thoſe lives of Plutarch, read the fragments of Diodorus.

Laſtly, in the regular order of hiſtory, read the thirtieth book of Juſtin, and all that follow till the two laſt, which completes the hiſtory of Greece, till it mixes with that of the Romans.

All the hiſtories mentioned in this lecture are written in Greek, except thoſe of Juſtin, Quintus Curtius, and Cornelius Nepos, which are in Latin.

LECT.

LECTURE XXII.

Of Dionyſius Halicarnaſſenſis, Livy, Polybius, and Appian.

AS the authors of whom an account was given in the preceding lecture contain not only the hiſtory of Greece, but that of all the nations of the world that were known to the hiſtorians; ſo the following courſe of *Roman hiſtory* muſt likewiſe be conſidered as comprehending all that is now to be learned of the ſubſequent ancient hiſtory of all other nations. Indeed, the connexions of the Romans were ſo extenſive, that a compleat hiſtory of their affairs could be nothing leſs than a hiſtory of the world; at leaſt of that part of it which is moſt worth our notice. In reality, we know nothing of the hiſtory of any ancient nations after the eſtabliſhment of the Roman empire, but in conſequence of their connexion with the Romans. The writers of the Roman hiſtory I ſhall give an account of in the order in which they are to be read, without any formal tranſition from one to another.

The writer who treats of the early part of the Roman hiſtory, in the fulleſt and moſt ſatisfactory manner, is *Dionyſius of Halicarnaſſus*, an excellent rhetorician, as well as hiſtorian. He came to Rome in the reign of Auguſtus, and ſpent twenty-two years there, principally with a view to acquaint himſelf, from the ſource of information, with the antiquities and cuſtoms of the Romans. His entire work conſiſted of twenty books, and brought down the hiſtory of Rome as far as the beginning of the firſt Punic war. But, of theſe only the eleven firſt are now extant,

extant, and the end at the year of the city 412, before Chriſt 341, the time when the conſuls reſumed the chief authority in the Republic after the diſſolution of the decemvirate.

This writer was furniſhed with all the lights that could be procured to conduct him through his undertaking, having the aſſiſtance of the moſt learned and eminent of the Romans in every thing in which they could be ſerviceable to him; and he is generally thought to have made the moſt of the authorities he could procure, in the great ſcarcity of ancient records which we have before obſerved to have been at Rome. But what we are moſt indebted to Dionyſius for, is the deſcription he has given of the manners, cuſtoms, and laws of the Romans, as obſerved by himſelf, and which no Roman writers have mentioned. Indeed, ſuch particulars as theſe we could not ſo reaſonably expect from a native, writing for the uſe of his countrymen (who muſt have been as well acquainted with them as himſelf) as from a foreigner, writing for the uſe of foreigners, to whom every thing of that kind would be new and entertaining.

Notwithſtanding Dionyſius lived in an enlightened age, and he ſeems deſirous to tranſmit nothing but well atteſted facts, he has not eſcaped the charge of the moſt egregious credulity in his account of ſome of the prodigies, with which all the Roman hiſtories abound, particularly when he tells us, that, by the command of Nævius Actius the Augur, a razor cut a whetſtone; that Caſtor and Pollux fought in perſon for the Romans againſt the Latins, that two rivers turned their courſe to favour the inhabitants of Cumæ, and that a ſtatue of fortune ſpoke certain words twice over.

The ſtyle of this author, though his language be truly Attic, does not quite anſwer the expectations he naturally raiſes by his

criticiſms on the ſtyle of other hiſtorians, and his rules for the proper ſtyle of hiſtory. For though his Attic phraſes are allowed to be elegant, the beſt critics complain of a ſingularity, and a particular roughneſs, in the general turn of his ſentences.

To compleat the hiſtory of the period of which Dionyſius treats, read Livy, book I. II. and III. Plutarch's Romulus, Numa Pompilius, Valerius Poplicola, Coriolanus, and Camillus.

After Dionyſius, read from the fourth to the tenth book, incluſive, of Livy, which brings the hiſtory of Rome to the 451 of the building of the city, and 292 before Chriſt.

Livy was a native of Padua, but upon undertaking to write the Roman hiſtory (a work in which he was wholly employed for more than twenty-two years) he came, in the reign of Auguſtus, to live at Rome, for the convenience of having recourſe to the moſt proper materials for his work, particularly thoſe records which were preſerved in the Capitol; and having collected every thing which he thought to his purpoſe, he retired to Naples, that he might proſecute his ſtudies without interruption.

All the time he was engaged in this work he lived a retired ſedentary life. But though we never read either of his having ever travelled, or being employed in any command in the army, or any other department of public buſineſs, it is remarkable that this defect is not perceived in his hiſtory. His deſcription of places is as exact as if he had viſited them himſelf; and he deſcribes a ſiege, and the arrangement of an army, with the greateſt propriety and judgment. It is not improbable but he might be aſſiſted in thoſe parts of his work by perſons who were better acquainted with the ſubjects of them than he himſelf could be. When he was at Rome, he enjoyed the

favour of Auguſtus, who gave him every opportunity of furniſhing himſelf with the knowledge neceſſary to his deſign.

The entire work of Livy conſiſted of one hundred and forty-two books; but of theſe only thirty-five are left, viz. the firſt, the third, the fourth, and half of the fifth decad; but the epitome of them all by another hand is extant.

All the ancients are unanimous in giving the moſt ample teſtimony to the noble and generous impartiality of this writer; who, though he lived in the reign of Auguſtus, had the courage to do juſtice to the characters of Pompey, Cicero, Brutus, and Caſſius. But, probably with a view to add to the ſolemnity of his hiſtory, he takes every opportunity of inſerting accounts of omens and prodigies, and ſome, as they appear to us of the loweſt and moſt ridiculous nature. Indeed, with reſpect both to the materials of his hiſtory, and the ſtyle and manner of compoſition, Livy ſeems to have ſtudied grandeur and magnificence. With all the marks of real modeſty, and greatneſs of mind, he every where preſerves an uniform energy and majeſty of ſtyle, to which the length and fulneſs of his periods does not a little contribute; and every part is as elaborate and highly finiſhed as poſſible.

To ſupply the chaſm between the tenth and twentieth books of Livy, read *Polybius*, particularly books firſt and ſecond, which treat chiefly of the firſt Punic war; the epitome of the ſecond decad of Livy, Juſtin, book ſeventeenth, eighteenth, twenty-ſecond, and twenty-third, fourteen chapters of the fourth book of Oroſius, the fourth and fifth of the third book of the *hiſtoria miſcellanea* of Paulus Diaconus, Plutarch's Marcellus, and Fabius Maximus; the ſecond tome of the annals of Zonaras, and Appian's Punic, and Illyrian wars.

Polybius was an Arcadian. He flouriſhed in the year 216 before Chriſt, and was of the firſt note in his age as a ſoldier, ſtateſman, and philoſopher He came to Rome on an embaſſy, and there became very intimate with Scipio Africanus the younger, and Lælius, whoſe inſeparable companion he was in all their expeditions.

His hiſtory conſiſted originally of forty books, of which the the eighth part only is remaining to us entire, and comprehends a ſpace of fifty-three years, the greateſt part of it employed in the hiſtory of thoſe events of which he was an eye witneſs, and in the conduct of which he had a conſiderable ſhare.

The pains which this writer took to inform himſelf of the things and places of which he writes was prodigious. He croſſed the Alps, and traverſed one part of Gaul, on purpoſe to repreſent truly Hannibals paſſage into Italy; and fearing to omit the leaſt circumſtance of Scipio's actions, he travelled all over Spain, and ſtopped particularly at New Carthage, that he might carefully ſtudy the ſituation of it; and even uſed Scipio's authority to procure veſſels to ſail upon the Atlantic ocean, with ſome view to the hiſtory he was writing. He learned the Roman tongue, and obtained a perfect knowledge of their laws, their rites, their cuſtoms and antiquities; and having gained permiſſion from the ſenate to ſearch the Capitol, he made himſelf familiar with their records, and tranſlated them into his mother tongue.

However, though in a perfect acquaintance with his ſubject, and eſpecially as a judge of every thing relating to it, he was ſuperior to almoſt all other ancient hiſtorians, he is inferior to moſt of them in point of eloquence; and it appears not to have been without juſtice that Dionyſius of Halicarnaſſus calls him

unpolite, and reproaches him with negligence, both in the choice of his words, and the ſtructure of his periods. His obſervations and reflections (which frequently interrupt the courſe of his narration, and take up great part of his work) appear tedious to thoſe who are impatient to go on with the hiſtory, but are univerſally admired by the thoughtful and judicious.

Oroſius was a Chriſtian Preſbyter, who flouriſhed about A.D. 416, and wrote ſeven books of hiſtory againſt the Pagans.

Appian was deſcended from one of the chief families of Alexandria. He came to Rome in the time of the emperor Trajan, where he practiſed the law, and diſtinguiſhed himſelf ſo much as a pleader, that he was advanced to ſome office in the government; and by the ſucceeding emperors Adrian and Antoninus Pius, to the higheſt dignities of the empire.

Of the many works which he compoſed, there remain at this time but the leaſt part, viz. his hiſtory of the Punic, Syrian, Parthian, Mithridatic, and Spaniſh wars, the fifth book of the civil wars, and thoſe of Illyricum.

Whatever reflection it may be upon him as a man, it ought to be no objection with us to the hiſtory of Appian, that he has been ſuſpected of copying a good deal from the Commentaries of Auguſtus, and other writers whoſe works are now loſt; and this circumſtance may have occaſioned ſome little inequality in his ſtyle. This, however, is only what ſome critics pretend to have obſerved, and his ſtyle is allowed to be, upon the whole, very plain and ſuited to his ſubject. His method of preſerving the tranſactions of every particular country diſtinct from thoſe of every other is thought to have ſome advantages, and he is allowed to be particularly happy in his deſcriptions

deſcriptions of battles, and in every reſpect to have given the greateſt proof of his knowledge in the art of war.

After Appian, ſhould be read the remainder of Livy, from the twenty-firſt book to the end, which brings the hiſtory to the year of the city 587, before Chriſt 166, and the epitome of Livy to the end.

To compleat the laſt books of Livy, read Plutarch's Hannibal, Scipio Africanus, Quintus Flamininus, Paulus Æmilius, and Cato Major. After this read his Gracchi, Marius, Sylla, Cato Minor, Sartorius, Lucullus, Pompey, and Brutus.

LECTURE XXIII.

Of Salluſt, Cæſar, Hirtius, Dio Caſſius, Paterculus, Suetonius, and Tacitus.

THE reader of hiſtory muſt now proceed to *Salluſt's* hiſtory of the war of Jugurtha, which happened one hundred years before Chriſt, and of the conſpiracy of Catiline, which happened ſixty-two years before Chriſt.

Salluſt was a Roman, deſcended of a family which had long made a figure in the equeſtrian order. He was a man of profligate morals, and the early part of his life was ſpent in the purſuits of ambition; but not ſucceeding in his attempts to be a leading man in the government of the ſtate, he retired with a diſcontent which ſhows itſelf, both in the general ſeverity of his language, and his frequent keen invectives againſt the times

times in which he lived. He was a great enemy of Cicero (whoſe wife Terentia he married after Cicero had divorced her) and the friend of Cæſar, who was a great admirer of him. By Cæſar he was entruſted with the command of ſome forces, and a province, in which, by his exceſſive rapaciouſneſs, he grew ſo rich, that, upon his return, he purchaſed one of the nobleſt manſions in Rome, which to this day is called the gardens of Salluſt.

The hiſtory of the war of Jugurtha, and of the Catilinarian conſpiracy are all that we have left of this hiſtorian. Nothing at all is left of that excellent hiſtory which procured him the title of *the prince of hiſtorians*, except four orations and two epiſtles; collected by the ancient grammarians.

It is remarkable that, notwithſtanding the profligacy of this writer's morals, and his particular attachments in life, thoſe things ſeem to have laid no bias upon him as a writer. He does juſtice both to Cicero and Cæſar in his hiſtory of the Catilinarian conſpiracy; and he is ſaid to have taken uncommon pains to get well informed in the particulars of his hiſtory. With regard to the Punic wars in particular, we are told that he not only examined the memoirs and writings of thoſe countries, but viſited many places in perſon, to avoid miſtakes in his deſcriptions.

Salluſt falls far ſhort of the majeſty of Livy, but he is remarkably happy in a peculiar conciſeneſs, fulneſs and energy of expreſſion, for which he is ſaid to have particularly ſtudied Thucydides. His harangues are extremely elaborate, but much too long in proportion to the hiſtory, and they have every appearance of being purpoſely introduced to ſhew his own eloquence on a variety of occaſions.

A fondneſs for theſe ſet declamations has ſtrangely ſeized almoſt all the hiſtorians of antiquity who are famous for their ſtyle and manner of compoſition. It may perhaps be, in part, accounted

counted for by conſidering that they were almoſt all educated pleaders; and that propriety of addreſs on every occaſion was ſo much ſtudied by the Romans, that it was the conſtant exerciſe of youth at ſchools, as we learn from Juvenal, to make ſpeeches for the heroes of hiſtory; and one great and happy example would occaſion many imitations of that unnatural manner. It muſt be acknowledged, however, that they tend to make hiſtory much more intereſting, by obliging the reader to dwell longer on the ſtate of things in important ſituations.

Julius Cæſar's Commentaries of his own wars, and the ſupplements by Hirtius and others.

Julius Cæſar was a man who, by the arts of popularity, acquired great aſcendancy over the people at Rome. Being entruſted with the command of an army in Gaul, he reduced all that country into ſubjection to the Romans, and by the ſame good fortune, and his own excellent conduct, he made himſelf maſter of the commonwealth; but fell a ſacrifice to the ſpirit of liberty, which was not yet ſufficiently quelled in that brave and high ſpirited people.

The title of Cæſar's *Commentaries* does not promiſe a regular and compleat hiſtory of the wars of which they treat. But ſo maſterly is the performance, that none of the ancients ever attempted to improve upon them. Though Cæſar is the hero of his own hiſtory, he always ſpeaks of himſelf in the third perſon; and he gives an account of the prodigious ſucceſs he met with, with the greateſt delicacy, and with as much coolneſs and impartiality, as if he were writing the hiſtory of any other perſon.

In this Cæſar exactly reſembles Xenophon. Indeed, there are few perſons whoſe circumſtances, and manner of writing, admit of a nearer compariſon. They have the ſame advantage in the

the clearneſs of their deſcriptions of things relating to war from having been generals themſelves. They have the ſame ſimplicity and eaſe in their ſtyle, and both are equally ſparing in introducing ſet ſpeeches. Of the two, Cæſar keeps nearer to nature and probability in this reſpect. Perhaps he might chuſe to ſtyle his work *Commentaries*, rather than lay himſelf under a kind of neceſſity of ſwelling a regular *hiſtory*, with ornaments ſo unſuitable to a work which ought to be the exact copy of truth and real life.

Hirtius, who wrote ſome of the books which are generally joined with Cæſar, was a man intimately acquainted with the tranſactions of thoſe times. After the death of Cæſar he was made conſul, and together with his colleague Panſa died glorioufly at the battle of Mutina, fighting againſt Antony. His ſtyle, and manner of compoſition, as well as the ſubject of his hiſtory, juſtly entitle him to a place next to Cæſar. The other pieces commonly annexed to Cæſar are greatly inferior to theſe.

To obtain a clear idea of the hiſtory of this important period of time, *Cicero's epiſtles*, eſpecially thoſe to Atticus, ought by no means to be overloked. Cicero ſeldom departed from Rome, was a principal actor in all the great affairs tranſacted in his time; of which he writes almoſt an uninterrupted account to his friend Atticus, who lived a retired life, remote from all affairs of ſtate. So great is the frankneſs of this writer, that we ſee the moſt ſecret motions of his heart, and how he was affected upon every emergence. He alſo ſhews us, as far as he himſelf was able to penetrate, the hearts of all thoſe men who make ſo great a figure in the hiſtory of thoſe times.

Dio Caſſius was a native of Bythinia, whither alſo he retired to paſs the concluſion of his life, after having been twice conſul at Rome, and been intruſted with the government of ſeveral pro-

vinces under Alexander Severus, and ſeveral of the preceding emperors.

His hiſtory comprized all the time from the building of Rome to the reign of Alexander, which he wrote in eighty books, divided into eight decads, of which few are ſaved from that cataſtrophe which has been fatal to many admirable works of this nature, through the ignorance and incurſions of barbarous nations. At preſent the thirty-fifth book is the firſt of thoſe that remain entire. For we have only ſome fragments of the thirty-fourth. His progreſs to the ſixtieth is compleat enough, but inſtead of the laſt twenty we muſt be content with what Xiphilinus, a monk of Conſtantinople, who wrote in the year 1050 after Chriſt, has given us, in a compendium of them. That which we now have of this author, comprehending the events of three hundred years at leaſt, begins at the time when Lucullus had his great commands, and ends with the death of the emperor Claudius. We are as unfortunate with reſpect to this author as to Livy; ſince the hiſtory of the laſt forty years, of the tranſactions of which he was an eye witneſs, is entirely loſt.

This writer has by no means avoided the charge of partiality, from his favouring the party of Cæſar and Antony, and his invective againſt Pompey and Cicero, particularly the latter, whom he treats in the moſt ſcurrilous and indecent manner; and perhaps it is not ſo much an argument of the prudent conduct of Dio, as of a criminal complaiſance in him, that he could paſs through ſuch dangerous times as thoſe of Commodus, Caracalla and Heliogabalus, without any riſk of his life or fortune. But on the other hand, it is an argument in favour of his character, that he was eſteemed by that excellent prince Alexander Severus, with whom he once had the honour of being conſul,

ſul, and under whom he publiſhed his hiſtory. This writer, however, has certainly fallen into a greater exceſs of ſuperſtition and credulity with reſpect to prodigies and miracles than Livy. From Livy's manner of introducing thoſe things it cannot at all be inferred that he believed them. He ſeems rather to have brought them in to add to the ſolemnity and dignity of his hiſtory; but they make a very different appearance in Dio. The ſpeeches of this writer, which take up whole books, are inſufferably tedious; but his ſtyle in general is rather admired than otherwiſe. He was a great imitator of Thucydides, and is not ſo obſcure as he was.

The period of which Dio Caſſius treats will be made more complete by *Velleius Paterculus*, who lived under Tiberus. He was a perſon of noble extraction, and had conſiderable employments in the Roman ſtate. His work is an epitome of the Roman hiſtory to his own times, upon which he is more large; and he tranſmits to us ſeveral particulars which we ſhould not otherwiſe have known. Excepting the groſs flatteries of Tiberius and Sejanus, Paterculus's work is a faithful and elegant compendium of Roman hiſtory; but it is in ſeveral places imperfect. This writer excels in drawing characters; and if his work be thought too rhetorical, it muſt be acknowledged that his rhetoric is more that of the gentleman than of the ſcholar.

Suetonius's lives of the twelve Cæſars. This author was a Roman born, had been employed in the army, and at the bar in the reign of Trajan; and under Adrian he was for ſome time what we may call ſecretary of ſtate; but being obliged to quit his office, on account of ſome diſguſt which he had given to his maſter, he retired, and wrote the hiſtory he has left us. Indeed, his work can hardly be called a hiſtory; ſince, without any

regard to chronological order, he has only thrown together ſuch incidents in the lives of the twelve Cæſars, as he imagined would reflect the greateſt light on their real characters, and has diſpoſed them in an order which he thought beſt adapted to that purpoſe.

Suetonius has given us the moſt undoubted proofs of his diligence, veracity and freedom, in the execution of his work. He is even thought to have entered too particularly into the detail of ſome unnatural vices. His expreſſion is very clear, though conciſe: but no writer requires a greater knowledge of the manners, cuſtoms, and antiquities of Rome to make him intelligible; his mention of them, and alluſions to them are ſo frequent.

Tacitus's Annals and Hiſtory. This author was a Roman, who was advanced regularly through all the honours of the ſtate, till he was made conſul under Nerva. He wrote annals of the public affairs in ſixteen books, which begin at the death of Auguſtus Cæſar, and continue the ſtory almoſt to the end of Nero. We have but part of them left; viz. the four firſt books, a ſmall part of the fifth, all the ſixth, from the eleventh to the fifteenth, and part of the ſixteenth. The two laſt years of Nero, and part of the foregoing year are wanting. Theſe are the laſt books of the work. He has left us a *hiſtory* likewiſe, which extends from the beginning of the reign of Galba to the end of that of Domitian. There are alſo extant of this author, one book of the *Manners of the Germans*, and another of the *Life of Agricola*.

Tacitus is a moſt faithful, grave, and ſevere writer. Indeed, the ſubject of his hiſtory exhibits the moſt ſhocking ſpectacle of vice which the annals of mankind can ſhow; in which caſe true hiſtory muſt neceſſarily have all the keenneſs of ſatire.

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This hiſtory contains a fund of political knowledge, and on that account, is very proper to be ſtudied by princes and miniſters of ſtate.

Nothing can be more oppoſite than the ſtyle of Tacitus and that of Cæſar; yet each may be called excellent in their kind. Tacitus has not the beautiful ſimplicity and eaſy flow of Cæſar, but his language has equal preciſion and more force. He is not ſo eaſy to be underſtood, but he does not pleaſe leſs when he is underſtood. It is hardly credible that ſo much ſentiment ſhould be crowded into ſo ſmall a compaſs as is done by Tacitus. Cæſar will perhaps have more charms for a young gentleman, but Tacitus will give more ſatisfaction to a perſon of age and experience.

Tacitus is the laſt Roman hiſtorian who is worth reading except barely for the ſake of thoſe *facts* which we have no other method of getting acquainted with. Indeed both Suetonius and Tacitus are generally placed in what is called the *ſilver age* of the Latin tongue; but all the ſucceeding writers are univerſally thrown into the *brazen* or *iron* age. I ſhall, therefore, content myſelf with a ſlighter mention of them, in the order in which they ought to be read, without diſtinguiſhing them into primary and ſecondary writers.

LECTURE XXIV.

Of Aurelius Victor, Herodian, Scriptores Romani, Eutropius, Zozimus, Zonaras, Jornandes, Ammianus Marcellinus, Procopius, Agathias, Nicetas Acominatus, Nicephorus Gregoras, and Johannes Cantacuzenus. Uſe of Books of Antiquities, Writers who have explained Coins and Inſcriptions. Uſe of a Knowledge of the Civil Law. Of modern Compilations of Hiſtory. The Univerſal Hiſtory. Hooke's Roman Hiſtory.

THE lives of Nerva and Trajan written by Aurelius Victor or Xiphilin. Aurelius Victor, was a perſon of mean birth, but on account of his learning and abilities, was advanced by Conſtantius, the ſon of Conſtantine the Great, to ſeveral conſiderable employments in the ſtate. Among other works he wrote a hiſtory of the Cæſars, from Auguſtus down to Conſtantius his patron.

Spartians Adrian, and Capitolinus's Antoninus.

Herodian. This author was a Greek grammarian of Alexandria in the ſecond century, but he ſpent moſt of his time at Rome in the court of the Emperors, where he wrote his hiſtory. It conſiſts of eight books, from the death of Antoninus Philoſophus to Balbinus and Pupienus, in the year 238, which is the hiſtory of his own times.

Few authors have ever had a happier and more engaging manner of writing than this. He preſents every ſcene with its cauſes and effects in the cleareſt and eaſieſt point of view; and

his ſtyle, without the leaſt appearance of labour, has all the charms of ſimplicity and elegance.

After Herodian muſt be read what has not been already directed to out of the ſix following writers, commonly known by the name of *Scriptores Romani, or Hiſtoriæ Auguſtæ ſcriptores*, viz. Spartianus, Lampridius, Capitolinus, Vulcatius, Trebellius Pollios, and Vopiſcus. They are publiſhed altogether by Caſaubon and Salmaſius. They all flouriſhed about the time of Dioclesian, or Conſtantine, and their works are not eaſily diſtinguiſhed from one another. But there is a chaſm in theſe writers, between Gordian III. and Valentinian, which may be ſupplied from Aurelius Victor. By the help of this ſupplement, the above-mentioned writers bring down the hiſtory to the year of the city 1036, of Chriſt 283.

If any perſon would chuſe to ſee an epitome of the Roman hiſtory till about this time, *Eutropius* will furniſh him with a pretty good one in Latin. He was an Italian ſophiſt, and ſecretary to Conſtantine the Great, but more particularly truſted by Julian. By the expreſs order of the Emperor Valens he wrote a compendium of the Roman hiſtory to the death of Jovian, in the year of the city 1119, of Chriſt 366. All the writers of the Roman hiſtory from this time are Greek, except Ammianus Marcellinus.

Zozimus wrote the hiſtory of the declenſion of the empire in ſix books, beginning with Auguſtus, giving a fuller account of things from the reign of Dioclesian, and ending with the taking of Rome by the Goths under Alaric. In the firſt book he runs through all the firſt emperors to Dioclesian with great brevity; but in the other five books he gives a larger and fuller account. He lived in the time of Theodoſius the younger, who began his reign in the year 507. Zozimus was a pagan, and therefore very often reflects upon the chriſtian princes;

princes; notwithſtanding which, his fidelity is not eaſily to be called in queſtion.

Zonaras wrote a general hiſtory, from the beginning of the world to the death of the emperor Alexius Comnenus in the year 1119, in whoſe time he lived. He divided his work into three tomes. In the firſt he gives a brief hiſtory of the world from the creation to the deſtruction of Jeruſalem; in the ſecond he writes the Roman hiſtory from the building of Rome to Conſtantine the Great, but very briefly; and in the third tome, he gives an account of the actions of all the chriſtian emperors from Conſtantine the Great to the death of Alexius Comnenus.

This hiſtory and that of Zozimus will be made more compleat by *Jornandes*'s hiſtory of the ſucceſſions of kingdoms and times, and his hiſtory of the Goths. He flouriſhed about the year of Chriſt 540. He was himſelf a Goth, or an Alan, and as he ſays, joined the Gothic hiſtorians with the Greek and Latin writers, in order to compile his hiſtory.

Ammianus Marcellinus flouriſhed in the year of Chriſt 375, and was a ſoldier under Conſtantine and Julian. He wrote thirty-one books from the beginning of Nerva to the death of Valens in whoſe court he lived: but of thoſe the firſt thirteen have periſhed. In thoſe which are extant he begins with Gallus Cæſar about the year of Chriſt 353, and largely deſcribes the actions and lives of Conſtantius Cæſar, Julian, Jovian, Valentinian, and Valens. He was an eye witneſs of a great part of what he writes, and he brings the hiſtory to the year of Rome 1128, of Chriſt 378.

In the miſcellaneous hiſtory of Paulus Diaconus, beginning with book xii. will be found a compleat hiſtory from Valentinian to the depoſition of Michael Curopalátes, in the year of Chriſt 812, in which time this author lived.

Procopius

Procopius flouriſhed in the year 502, and wrote ſeven books of the Perſian, Gothic, and the Vandalic wars, undertaken by Juſtinian, and conducted by his general Beliſarius.

Agathias lived about the year of Chriſt 567. He was a lawyer by profeſſion, of Smyrna in Aſia; he wrote five books of the reign and actions of Juſtinian, and begins his hiſtory where Procopius ended. He was a pagan.

If any perſon chuſe to omit theſe laſt mentioned writers, and go on with the third tome of Zonaras, he may paſs on from Zonaras to Nicetas Acominatus, or Chonites, who begins where Zonaras ends, and continues the hiſtory pretty largely for eighty-five years, to the taking of Conſtantinople by Baldwin the Flandrian, in the year of Chriſt 1203. This writer was born at Chonis, a town in Phrygia, from whence he took his name.

After Nicetas, follows Nicephorus Gregoras, who wrote a hiſtory of one hundred and forty-five years, from Theodorus Laſcares the firſt to the death of Andronicus Poleologus the latter, in the year of Chriſt 1341, about which time he flouriſhed.

But whereas the fidelity of this writer is called in queſtion, particularly his hiſtory of Andronicus and Paleologus, it may not be amiſs to take in here Johannes Cantacuzenus, who of an emperor became a monk, and wrote an excellent hiſtory, under the title of Chriſtodulus. This royal hiſtorian flouriſhed about the year of Chriſt 1350. His hiſtory conſiſts of ſix books, of which the two firſt treat of the reign of Andronicus, the remaining four of his own reign, and what he did after the death of Andronicus. He was made a monk in the year of Chriſt 1360, when he took the name of Joſaaphus.

The concluſion of the hiſtory of Conſtantinople, with the riſe and progreſs of the Turks, may be learned from Laonicus Chalchondiles, who put an end to it. He begins his hiſtory with Ottoman the ſon of Orthogul, who began to reign about the year of Chriſt 1300. His work conſiſts of ten books, and brings the hiſtory to the year 1453, in which Conſtantinople was taken by Mahomet II.

That you may not be diſappointed in your expectations from thoſe hiſtorians who wrote after the removal of the ſeat of the empire from Rome to Conſtantinople, I muſt inform you that, as from that time the grandeur of the empire began to decline, the bounds of it to be contracted, and conſequently the connexions of the Romans to be leſs extenſive than before; the *Byzantine hiſtorians*, as thoſe writers are called, are very much confined to the affairs of the empire and court of Conſtantinople, which for ſeveral centuries before the final diſſolution of the empire was very inconſiderable. This part therefore of the preceding courſe is by no means to be called *general* hiſtory, as the earlier part of it, but, on the contrary, like it is very much limited and particular.

Of all the modern *compilations*, derived from theſe ſources of hiſtorical knowledge, none are ſo uſeful as thoſe which treat of the manners, cuſtoms, and laws of the Greeks and Romans. The moſt complete body of Greek and Roman antiquities is that which has been collected from the united labours of all the beſt critics and antiquaries by Grævius and Gronovius. But this is an immenſely voluminous work, which few perſons can purchaſe, or peruſe. A perſon may acquire knowledge enough of this kind for the purpoſe of reading the Greek and and Latin hiſtorians in Potter's excellent and compendious ſyſ-

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tem of Greek antiquities and in Kennet's antiquities of Rome; but without an acquaintance with theſe at leaſt, a perſon will find himſelf greatly at a loſs in reading the courſe, or any part of the courſe, of hiſtory recommended above.

Books which contain collections of coins and inſcriptions ſhould by no means be neglected by a perſon who is deſirous of receiving all the lights he can get into the tranſactions of any period of paſt times. The principal collectors of theſe kinds of records are Gruter, Lipſius, Chiſhul, Montfaucon, Prideaux, Mazochius, and Fleetwood for inſcriptions; and Spanheim, Urſinus, Patin, Vaillant, Hardouin, and Goltzius for coins.

With regard to the Roman hiſtory, no perſon can be a competent judge of many important things relating to it, who is not verſed in the *civil law*, which contains the hiſtory of the domeſtic policy of that great people. Let every perſon therefore who propoſes to ſtudy the Roman hiſtory by all means make himſelf maſter of *Juſtinian's Inſtitutes* at leaſt, which contain an authentic outline of their policy; and this indeed is ſufficient for the purpoſe of reading their hiſtory.

It would be endleſs to enumerate all the modern compilations of ancient hiſtory. The moſt complete body of hiſtory ancient and modern is the *Univerſal*, and it is the more convenient for the ſtudy of hiſtory, as the references in it to original authors are very large and particular on every paragraph of it; ſo that it is at leaſt a full index to univerſal hiſtory, and furniſhes the reader with the means both of enlarging the ſtory, and correcting any miſtakes the authors may have fallen into. The performance is certainly a very unequal one, with reſpect both to judgment and ſtyle, and the chronology of it is various, as might be expected from a work which could not have been completed at all but by a great number of hands. It is to be

regretted that the chronological tables adapted to it are drawn up upon the old exploded ſyſtem. But among a few inſtances of inaccuracy, there are numberleſs marks of the greateſt labour and impartiality.

Of the compilers of the Roman hiſtory in particular, Hooke ſeems far preferable to any other in French or Engliſh. He has ſhewed the greateſt ſagacity in tracing the riſe, progreſs, and conduct of that people, and in penetrating into the characters of their principal heroes.

LECTURE XXV.

Of the Method of ſtudying the Engliſh Hiſtory. Original Writers recommended. Gildas. Bede. Nennius. Hoel Dha's laws. Geffrey of Monmouth. Caradocus. Roman writers of Engliſh Affairs. Their Defects how ſupplied. Fulneſs of Engliſh Hiſtory from the Time of Chriſtianity accounted for. Saxon Recorders. Saxon Chronicle. Aſſer Menevenſis. Ethelward. Verſtegan. Sheringham. What Foreign Hiſtories are uſeful to a Knowledge of the Engliſh Affairs in early Times. Of the Daniſh, Iſlandic, German, and Norwegian Antiquities.

AS the hiſtory of our own country is both more intereſting to us, and on every account, of the moſt conſequence for us to be thoroughly acquainted with, I ſhall be more particular in my directions to acquire a thorough knowledge of it than I have been with reſpect to ancient hiſtory. To do this in as complete

complete a manner as the bounds of my deſign will admit, I ſhall firſt deduce a regular ſeries of *hiſtorians*, from the earlieſt account of our nation to what may be called our own times, and then give ſome account of the *records* which our country affords of a different nature, but which a careful hiſtorian ought to avail himſelf of, and alſo of the places where it is ſaid ſuch records are to be met with. A great part of what I ſhall advance upon this laſt head in particular will be extracted from *Nicholſon's Engliſh Hiſtorical Library*, to which I would refer thoſe perſons who are deſirous of farther information with reſpect to the ſubject of this Lecture. I ſhall however ſo far depart from his method as to give all I have to ſay concerning the Britons, Saxons, and all the earlier part of our hiſtory, by itſelf.

Imperfect as what I have collected on this ſubject may be, it will at leaſt ſuffice to give you an idea what care, labour, and ſagacity are neceſſary to compile a good hiſtory of our country, from the vaſt variety of materials which it affords for that purpoſe; which will make us more ſenſible of the obligations we are under to thoſe diligent hiſtorians and antiquarians who have taken the pains requiſite for that purpoſe, and increaſe our contempt for thoſe writers, who, without ſtirring from their cloſets, or peruſing one ancient original author, aſſume the name of *hiſtorians*, and publiſh pompous accounts of their works; when they have done nothing more than republiſh, in a new, and perhaps no better form, the information that had been collected by others. Of theſe ſecond and third hand compilers no nation perhaps furniſhes a greater number than our own. If ſuch works be recommended by greater ſymmetry in the arrangement of their parts, and a better ſtyle and manner of compoſition, it cannot be denied but that the authors of them

them have their merit; but then it is a merit of a different kind from that of the laborious inveſtigators of hiſtorical truth, and ought not to be confounded with it.

I muſt admoniſh you, however, that you muſt not promiſe yourſelves much entertainment from the language and ſtyle of the original hiſtorians of our nation. The bulk of our ancient hiſtories are only to be conſidered as repoſitories of facts. It has only been of late years that hiſtory has been written with the leaſt degree of elegance by the natives of this country; and even now we can ſhow but very few maſterly compoſitions of this kind; perhaps none which have united with the merit of writers that of diligent inveſtigators of hiſtorical truth. Indeed, theſe qualifications in modern times are rarely united, though in ancient times they often were.

The moſt ancient Britiſh hiſtorian now extant is *Gildas*. He was a monk of Baagor about the middle of the ſixth century, a ſorrowful ſpectator of the miſeries, and almoſt utter ruin, of his countrymen the Britons, by a people under whoſe banners they expected protection and peace. His lamentable hiſtory *De excidio Britanniæ* is all that is printed of his writing, and perhaps all that is any where extant.

Cotemporary with Gildas was *Bede*, who was a Saxon; and though his hiſtory of the Engliſh nation is chiefly eccleſiaſtical, he has intermixed ſeveral particulars of the civil ſtate of the Britons and Saxons.

The next Britiſh hiſtorian of note is *Nennius*, a monk, who flouriſhed in the year 830. He is ſaid to have left behind him ſeveral treatiſes, whereof all that is publiſhed is his *Hiſtoria Britonum*.

The next remains of the Britons, are *Hoel Dha's Laws*, which were enacted about the middle of the tenth century. Of theſe

there are ſeveral copies, both in Welch and Latin, ſtill extant; among which is a very old one, written on parchment in Jeſus College, at Oxford.

We are not to expect any ſuch aſſiſtance for aſcertaining the hiſtory of theſe times as after ages afford us from charters, letters patent, &c. It is very doubtful whether thoſe times ever produced ſuch materials for hiſtory; if they did, they have all periſhed. Neither can we expect any aſſiſtance from the medals, or coins, of the ancient Britons. The money uſed here in Cæſar's time was nothing more than iron rings, and ſhapeleſs pieces of braſs; nor does it well appear that their kings did afterwards introduce any of another ſort.

The firſt perſon that attempted the writing of the old Britiſh hiſtory after the conqueſt was *Jeffery*, archdeacon of Monmouth. This author lived under king Stephen, about the year 1150. He ſeems particularly fond of ſtories which have the air of romance, which led him to pitch upon king Arthur's feats of chivalry, and Merlin's prophecies, as proper ſubjects for his pen; but his moſt famous piece is his *Chronicon, ſive hiſtoria Britonum*. In this he has given a genealogy of the kings of Britain from the days of Brutus, the ſuppoſed ſon of Æneas, containing a catalogue of above ſeventy monarchs, who reigned in this iſland before Julius Cæſar landed in it. The firſt ſtone of this fabric was laid by Nennius, but the ſuperſtructure is this author's own. Notwithſtanding this author has not been without his advocates, particularly the famous J. Leland, his hiſtory is now univerſally regarded in no other light than that of a romance.

Contemporary with this Jeffery was Caradocus, a monk of Lancarvan, who wrote a hiſtory of the petty kings of Wales after they were driven into that corner of the iſland by the Saxons.

Saxons. This hiſtory which was written originally in Latin, and brought as low as the year 1156 by its author, was afterwards tranſlated into Engliſh by Humphry Lluid, and enlarged and publiſhed by Dr. Powel, and again by W. Wyn, with a learned preface.

After king Charles's reſtoration Mr. R. Vaughan, a learned gentleman of Merionethſhire, publiſhed his *Britiſh antiquities revived*, wherein are many curious remarks and diſcoveries. This author was well known to archbiſhop Uſher, by whom he was much countenanced and encouraged in theſe ſtudies.

The Roman writers treat of the affairs of this iſland, both antecedent to their conqueſt of it, and during their ſtay in it, only occaſionally. Cæſar may be depended upon for an authentic account of his own expedition, and the manner in which he was received by the natives; but it is certain he could have but little opportunity of being acquainted with the manners and cuſtoms of the people, or any thing relating to the internal ſtate of the nation. As the Romans were afterwards better acquainted with the iſland, we have more reaſon to depend upon the little that we find of our hiſtory in Tacitus, Dio Caſſius, Suetonius, Eutropius, and the Scriptores Romani, who may all be ſuppoſed to have had the peruſal of ſuch memorials as were from time to time ſent to the emperors from their lieutenants in this province. A great deal of caution is neceſſary in reading ſome of the laſt-mentioned authors; but their defects are well ſupplied by the famous Mr. Dodwell, in his *Prælectiones Camdenian*, which will be highly ſerviceable to all perſons who engage in theſe ſtudies. Tacitus's life of Agricola has all the appearance of being a faithful account of that general's conduct in this iſland. He ſpeaks of the natives with great impartiality.

Many

Many defects in the Roman accounts have been ſupplied by inſcriptions and coins, found in ſeveral parts of our iſland; and there are daily new diſcoveries of both. The Roman commanders in this iſland affected to celebrate their exploits on the reverſes of their coins, whence may be collected ſeveral good illuſtrations of that part of our hiſtory. Thoſe preſerved in Camden's Britannia are very valuable.

We are much more happy with reſpect to the hiſtory of the Saxon times, particularly the end of them, than thoſe preceding. It is remarked by all writers, that there is not in the world a hiſtory leſs obſcure than that of England after the ninth century. Nor can we be at a loſs to account for this, when we are informed by Matthew Paris, that there was a cuſtom in England, that, in each mitred abbey of the order of St. Benedict, ſome perſons of the fraternity, of ability and care, were appointed to regiſter the moſt conſiderable events; and after the death of every king theſe different memoirs were laid before a chapter of the order, to be reduced to a body of hiſtory, which was preſerved in their archives for the inſtruction of poſterity.

We have likewiſe other remains of the Saxon times, which may be of great uſe to an hiſtorian. In ſeveral libraries, and in many regiſter books of our oldeſt monaſteries, we have many charters granted by our Saxon kings, but they are to be admitted with great caution. The records of the church of Canterbury aſſure us that Withered, who reigned about the year 700, was the firſt who gave out charters in writing, his predeceſſors thinking their bare word ſufficient to ſecure any of their gifts and benefactions.

Many of the Saxon laws have been publiſhed. The firſt attempt of this kind was made by L. Nowel, who collected all

he could find, and left them to be tranſlated by his friend W. Lambard. Mr. Somner corrected the errors of Lambard, adding ſeveral laws omitted by him, and giving a double tranſlation, in Latin and Engliſh, to the whole. And there have been ſome ſtill later additions and improvements by other hands. There is not much to be learned from the coins of any of our Saxon kings; their ſilver ones being generally of the ſame ſize, and very ſlovenly minted.

The oldeſt hiſtory of the Saxon affairs is the *Saxon Chronicle*, firſt publiſhed by Abraham Wheelock, who tranſlated it, and cauſed it to be printed at the end of his Saxon Bede. The author, or authors, of this work are unknown. Some copies of it end with the year 977, another brings down the hiſtory to 1001, another to the year 1070, and another to 1154.

The earlieſt account we have of the reign of Alfred is that of *Aſſerius Menevenſis*, who lived in his court, and is ſaid to have been promoted by him to the biſhoprick of Sherborn. This treatiſe was firſt publiſhed by Archbiſhop Parker in the old Saxon character, at the end of his edition of Thomas Walſingham's hiſtory. Aſſerius wrote his ſovereign's life no farther than the forty-fifth year of his age, which, according to his computation, fell in the year of our Lord 893; but the work is continued by other hands to the death of Alfred.

The next Saxon hiſtorian is *Ethelward*, or *Elward Patritius*, deſcended of the blood royal, who lived in the year 1090, but he continued his chronicle of the Saxon kings no farther than Edgar. Indeed, the whole is ſaid to be a tranſlation of an imperfect copy of the Saxon chronicle, and in a very bad ſtyle.

Many things relating to the civil government of theſe times are diſperſed in ſome particular lives of their ſaints and kings, particularly

particularly thoſe of Offa, Oſwin, Ethelwolf, and Edward the Confeſſor.

Of the later writers of the Saxon affairs, *Verſtegan* muſt be firſt mentioned. His *reſtitution of decayed intelligence in antiquities* relates particularly to the language, religion, manners, and government of the ancient Engliſh Saxons. This writer has fallen into many miſtakes; but ſome of them have been noted by Mr. Sheringham, and the reſt have been carefully corrected by Mr. Somner.

Mr. Selden was a perſon of vaſt induſtry, and his attainments in moſt parts of learning were ſo extraordinary, that every thing that came from him is highly admired; but Mr. Nicholſon is by no means ſatisfied with the account he gives, in his *Analecta*, of the religion, government, and revolutions of ſtate among our Saxon anceſtors.

On the contrary, Mr. Nicholſon ſays, that the beſt performance he knows of, relating to the prime antiquities of the Saxons is Mr. *Sheringham's treatiſe De Anglorum gentis origine*. Our civil wars ſent this author into the low countries, where he had an opportunity of becoming acquainted with Dr. Marſham and the Dutch language, both inclining him to ſuch ſtudies as this book ſhows him to have delighted in. He appears to have been a perſon of great modeſty, as well as induſtry and learning. His collections from the Greek, Roman, and particularly from the northern writers, are exceedingly valuable.

Our Saxon antiquary ought alſo to be ſkilled in the writings of thoſe learned Germans who have made collections of their own laws, or have written ſuch gloſſaries, or grammatical diſcourſes, as may bring him acquainted with the many ancient dialects of our anceſtors and kinſmen in that part of the world;

particularly the *Sachſen Spiegel*, or *Speculum Saxonicum*, which is an excellent manuel of the old laws of the ancient Saxons.

In order to underſtand the *Daniſh* period of our hiſtory, the Daniſh antiquities muſt be ſearched into, and the Runic character underſtood; for in this character the Danes regiſtered all their more conſiderable tranſactions upon rocks, and ſtones hewn into various ſhapes and figures. On theſe they engraved ſuch inſcriptions as were proper for their heathen altars, triumphal arches, ſepulchral monuments, and the genealogical hiſtories of their anceſtors. Their writings of leſs concern, as letters, almanacks, &c. were engraven upon wood; and becauſe beech was the moſt plentiful in Denmark, and moſt commonly employed for thoſe purpoſes, from the Daniſh name of that tree, which is *bog*, they, and all other northern nations, have the name of *book*.

Our Daniſh antiquary ſhould alſo be acquainted with the beſt Iſlandic hiſtorians; the moſt ancient whereof is *Aras Frode*, cotemporary with Sæmond, about the year 1114. He firſt wrote a regular hiſtory of Iceland from the firſt planting of his country down to his own time, wherein he gives an account of the affairs of Norway, Denmark, and England, intermixed with thoſe of his own nation. Part of this work happily fell into the hands of Thomas Bartholine's friend, the biſhop of Skalholt, who took care to have it publiſhed in the year 1689.

There is likewiſe extant a couple of Norwegian hiſtories of good credit which explain many particulars of the exploits relating to the Daniſh kings of Great-Britain, which our own hiſtorians have either wholly omitted, or recorded imperfectly. The former of theſe was written ſoon after the year 1130, by one Theoderic, a monk. The other was compiled by *Snorro Sturleſonius*.

Sturleſonius. Both drew their materials from the ballads of the *Scaldri*, whoſe hiſtorical poems, it is generally thought, may be depended upon. Arngrim Jonas, who lived about thoſe times, aſſures us that theſe Scaldri were far from flattering, and knew nothing of the modern poetical fable. This book was tranſlated into the vulgar Engliſh by Peter Undallenſis, and publiſhed by Wormius.

Only two Daniſh hiſtorians, Mr. Nicholſon ſays, are neceſſary to the Engliſh antiquary's library; namely *Saxo Grammaticus*, and his cotemporary and fellow ſervant *Sweno Agonis*, of both which we have an excellent edition by Stephanus. Saxo is commonly reckoned the moſt ancient, as well as the moſt polite, hiſtorian of Denmark, dying provoſt at the cathedral church at Roſchild in the year 1204. Saxo himſelf ſays that he compiled his hiſtory out of the Icelandic ballads, and Sweno declares that he compiled his from the traditions of old people; yet the former is thought by Arngrim Jonas, and J. Lyſcander, not to have made good uſe of his authorities.

The great reſtorer of the decayed antiquities of Denmark was *Olaus Wormius*, who has alſo enabled us to make many new diſcoveries in thoſe of our own nation. His *Literatura Runica* was the firſt happy attempt towards the right explanation of the old Cimbrian monuments, which till his time had lain neglected, and unknown to the learned world, not only in theſe northern kingdoms, but in ſeveral parts of Italy, Spain, and other European countries, where the Gothic arms and letters had gained a footing. His *Monumenta Danica* is alſo of ſingular uſe to a perſon who pretends to write upon any branch of our Engliſh antiquities; ſome of which are particularly illuſtrated by the author himſelf. Thomas Bartholine, ſon to the famous phyſician of that name, has given us an addition to Wornius's diſcoveries.

LECT.

LECTURE XXVI.

The Engliſh Hiſtory from the Conqueſt. Ingulphus of Croiland, Marianus Scotus. Florentius Bravonius, Eadmerus, William of Malmſbury, Simeon of Durham, Ealred, Henry of Huntingdon, William of Newbury. Gervaſe of Canterbury, Roger de Hoveden, Ralph de Diceto, Matthew Paris, Chronicle of Mailros, Thomas Wicks, Nicholas Trivet, Roger Ceſtrenſis, John Brompton, Walter of Hemmingford, Ralph Higden, John Vicar of Tinmouth, Matthew of Weſtminſter, Henry Knighton, Froiſſart, Thomas of Walſingham, William Caxton, and John Roſs.

AFTER the conqueſt (as Sir William Temple obſerves) though the hiſtory of England was not for a long time written by one ſkilful hand, yet it is repreſented in ſo clear a light, as leaves very little either obſcure or uncertain in the hiſtory of our kingdom, or the ſucceſſion of our kings; and for this advantage we are indebted to our monaſteries. I ſhall only give an account of the principal of our hiſtorians ſince that period, and this as briefly as poſſible, ranking them in the ſeveral centuries wherein they wrote.

The firſt of our Engliſh hiſtorians after the conqueſt was *Ingulphus of Croyland.* He wrote the hiſtory of his monaſtery, and in it relates many things concerning the kings of England. He begins in the year of Chriſt 626, with Penda king of Mercia, and ends at the year 1089, which was the third year of William Rufus. This author was the ſon of a courtier of Ed-

ward the laſt king of the Saxon race. He was reckoned an excellent Ariſtotelian philoſopher. He was counſellor to William duke of Normandy, and after the conqueſt of England was by him made abbot of Croyland. The relation this author bore to king William does manifeſtly bias him in the account he gives of Harold.

About the ſame time wrote *Marianus Scotus*, a monk of Mentz in Germany, who brought down our Engliſh hiſtory, interwoven with the more general one of Europe, as low as the year 1083. He was reckoned an elegant writer for the times, and his work met with ſuch univerſal applauſe in our monaſteries, that there was hardly one in the kingdom that wanted a copy of it, and ſome had ſeveral. The beſt and moſt complete manuſcript of it is in the public library at Oxford.

The earlieſt hiſtory in the twelfth century was written by *Florentius Bravonius*, a Monk of Worceſter, who in many places of his work has almoſt tranſcribed Marianus, but he has added a great deal out of the Saxon chronicle, and other writers. His book ended with his life, in the year 1119; but it was continued fifty years farther by another monk of the ſame monaſtery.

Eadmerus, a monk of Canterbury, is our next hiſtorian, whoſe *hiſtoria novorum*, &c. was publiſhed by Mr. Selden, and contains the hiſtory of the two Williams, and Henry I. from the year 1066, to the year 1122. Mr. Nicholſon ſays this work is of great gravity, and unqueſtionable authority. The intimate acquaintance the author had with archbiſhop Anſelm did not bias him in favour of the clergy. The character which Selden gives of him is that his ſtyle equals that of William of Malmſbury, and that his matter and compoſition exceed him.

William

William of Malmſbury has had the higheſt commendations imaginable given him by ſome of our beſt critics in Engliſh hiſtory. He wrote *De geſtis regum Anglorum* in five books, with an appendix in two more, which he ſtyles *novellæ hiſtoriæ*. In theſe we have a judicious collection of whatever he found on record touching the affairs of England, from the firſt arrival of the Saxons, concluding his work with the reign of king Stephen, to whom he ſhows himſelf to have been a hearty enemy.

Simeon Dunelmenſis, and *Ealred* Abbot of Rievaulx are our next hiſtorians of note in this century. The former was monk and precentor of Durham in the year 1164, and may juſtly be reckoned one of the moſt learned men of his age. But his two books *De geſtis regum* are not his maſter-pieces. His hiſtory begins at the death of Bede in 732, and ends in the year 1129. Abbot Ealred gives us a ſhort genealogy of our kings to Henry II. but enlarges chiefly on the praiſes of David king of Scots, founder of many abbeys of the Ciſtercians.

About the ſame time flouriſhed *Henry Archdeacon of Huntingdon*, whoſe eight books, concluding with the reign of king Stephen, were publiſhed by Sir Henry Savil. After Bede's time he has many particulars out of the Saxon chronicle, which had been omitted by our hiſtorians before him. He acknowledges, and very juſtly, that his hiſtory is very confuſed.

William of Newberry was ſo called from a monaſtery of that name, whereof he was a member. His hiſtory begins at the death of Henry I. and ends in the year 1097, though he is ſaid to have been alive in the year 1120. He has with great keenneſs expoſed the fables of Jeffrey of Monmouth, for which he is blamed by Leland.

The

The thirteenth century begins with *Gervaſe* a monk of Canterbury, who is reported to have been a moſt judicious antiquary, and methodical hiſtorian, and to have made an excellent collection of the Britiſh and Engliſh hiſtory from the coming in of the Trojans to the year 1200. All that is extant of his works begins with the year 1112, which was the twelfth year of Henry I. and ends with the death of Richard I. It is ſaid to be done with great judgment.

Cotemporary with theſe two, and as Nicholſon ſays, as great an hiſtorian as both of them joined together, was *Roger de Hoveden*, who ſeems to have been chaplain for ſome time to king Henry II. He has deduced our hiſtory to the year of Chriſt 1202, the fourth year of king John's reign.

The next hiſtorian of note is *Ralph de Diceto*, dean of London, who wrote about the year 1210. He compoſed two treatiſes, one called *abbreviationes chronicorum*, and the other *Imagines hiſtoriarum*. The former contains an abſtract of our hiſtory, but chiefly of church affairs, down to the conqueſt. In the latter he gives the hiſtory of ſome of our kings more at length, ending with the firſt years of king John's reign. Selden is a great admirer of this author and his works.

Soon after theſe writers appeared *Matthew Paris*, a monk of St. Alban's, one of the moſt renowned hiſtorians of this kingdom. His *hiſtoria major* contains the annals at large of eight of our kings, from the beginning of the reign of William I. to the concluſion of that of Henry III. From the year 1259, in which this author died, to the death of king Henry III. it was continued by William Riſhanger, a monk of the ſame fraternity. The whole book ſhows a great deal of candour and exactneſs. It furniſhes us with ſo particular a relation of the brave oppoſition made by many of our princes to the uſurpations

of the pope, that it is a wonder how ſuch an heretical hiſtory came to ſurvive thus long. The ſame author wrote an abſtract of the fore-mentioned book, to which he gave the title of *chronica*, and which Lambord firſt called *hiſtoria minor*. It contains ſeveral particulars of note omitted in the larger hiſtory. The faireſt copy of this book, ſuppoſed to be written by the author's own hand, is in the king's library at St. James's.

The *chronicle of Mailros*, though its title may ſeem to rank it among the records of another kingdom, may juſtly challenge a place among our Engliſh hiſtorians, ſince it chiefly inſiſts upon the affairs of this nation. The abbot, or prior, of Dundranard in Galloway, a nurſery under Mailroſs, is thought to have been the firſt compiler of this work; but it was afterwards continued by ſeveral hands down to the year 1270.

The fourteenth century begins with *Thomas Wikes*. His hiſtory begins at the conqueſt and ends at the death of Henry I. in the year 1304. The author was canon regular of Oſney near Oxford, and writes as clearly and fully, eſpecially ſome paſſages relating to the wars of the barons, as ſo compendious a chronicle as his is would allow him to do; his ſtyle is elegant for the times.

Nicholas Trivet, ſon of Sir Thomas Trivet, Lord Chief Juſtice, was prior of a monaſtery of Dominican friars in London, where he was buried in the year 1328. His hiſtory is in French, and bears the title of *Les geſtes des apoſtoiles, empereurs, e rois*, an excellent copy of it is in Merton college at Oxford.

Roger Ceſtrenſis, who was a benedictine monk of St. Werborges of Cheſter, was Trivet's cotemporary, and wrote a large account of the affairs of this nation. His work he entitled *polychronicon temporum*, and began it at the coming in of the Romans. He continued it at firſt no farther than the year 1314, but

but afterwards added a ſupplement of ſixteen years more. There are many manuſcripts of this work in the Harleian library.

About the ſame time, as Mr. Selden with probability conjectures, lived the author of that chronicle which goes by the name of *John Brompton*, ſometime abbot of Joreval in the county of York, which begins with the coming in of Auguſtin the monk, in the year 528, and ends with the death of Richard I. in the year 1198. This author is particularly valuable for the collection, and verſion, which he has given us of the Saxon laws in Latin, made in the time of Edward III.

The chronicle of *Walter Hemmingford*, who flouriſhed in the reign of Edward III. (whoſe reign he has more largely deſcribed) begins in the year 1066, and ends with the year 1308. He was a monk of Glaſtonbury, a perſon of great induſtry, and a very learned man for the times in which he lived.

Ralph Higden, a monk of St. Werburgs in Cheſter, wrote a hiſtory which he ſtyles *polychronicon*, compiled chiefly from the writings of others, particularly from ſome ancient chronicles which are now wholly loſt. He died very old, in the year 1377.

John, vicar of Tinmouth, and afterwards a monk of St. Alban's, in the year 1366, was a great collector of Engliſh hiſtories, which he left digeſted in three very large volumes, of which there are now fair copies in the libraries at Oxford, Lambeth, &c. They relate chiefly to the miracles of our Engliſh ſaints.

Matthew, a benedictine monk of *Weſtminſter*, was a great collector of former hiſtorians, from which he is uſually ſtyled *florilegus*. His hiſtory ends at the year 1307, which it is not probable he long ſurvived. The moſt eminent of his continuators was Adam Merimuth, canon regular of St. Paul's, and a great civilian. He begins his work at 1302, and his firſt part

reaches only to 1343, but the ſecond continues the hiſtory to the year 1380, in which it is probable he died.

Henry Knighton, one of the canons of Leiceſter, in this century, wrote a chronicle *of the events of England*, as he ſtyles it. In his firſt books he gives us ſome account of the Saxon and Norman affairs, from the time of Edgar, who began his reign in 958 to William the Conqueror; and then he writes more largely to the year 1395, which was the nineteenth year of Richard II. in whoſe times he lived.

The fifteenth century was one of the moſt rude and illiterate ages. Among the few who were eminent for learning in it was Sir *John Froiſſart*, ſome time canon and treaſurer of Chimay in the dioceſe of Liege. His work contains indeed a general hiſtory of the affairs of France, Spain, and other parts of Europe; but he chiefly inſiſts on thoſe of this nation, and particularly the wars between the Engliſh and French from the year 1335 to 1400. This author was a Frenchman born, but was brought up in the court of king Edward III. and many years was familiarly converſant in that of Richard II. His account of things ſeems to be plain and honeſt, and perhaps no perſon gives a better account of the affairs of thoſe two princes. He wrote in his own native language, which in his time was the court language in England.

Paſſing by a ſet of very ordinary writers, the next hiſtorian worthy of our notice is *Thomas Walſingham*, a benedictine monk of St. Alban's, and very probably regius profeſſor of hiſtory in that monaſtery, about the year 1440. His ſhort hiſtory begins at the concluſion of Henry III.'s reign, where Matthew Paris ends, and continues the hiſtory to the end of Henry V. His *Hypodigma Neuſtriæ* has a more particular regard to the affairs of Normandy, giving a full account of that dukedom, from the time

that

that it firſt came into the hands of Rollo, down to the ſixth year of Henry V. in which are many occurrences not elſewhere to be met with.

William Caxton, who was a menial ſervant for thirty years together to Margaret ducheſs of Burgundy (ſiſter to our king Edward IV.) in Flanders, continued a hiſtory begun by the monks of St. Alban's, which commenced with the firſt inhabiting this iſland, to the laſt year of Edward IV. 1483. The whole work bears the title of *fructus temporum*. This author had certainly a good opportunity of being acquainted with the court tranſactions of his time.

John Roſs, with the account of whom we ſhall cloſe this century, was a man of good parts and ſingular induſtry. He travelled over the greateſt part of England, and made large collections out of the libraries where he came, relating to the hiſtory and antiquities of this kingdom. His hiſtory of our kings is ſtill extant in the Cotton library, lately removed to the Britiſh muſeum. It contains many collections illuſtrating the antiquities of our univerſities.

LECTURE XXVII.

Robert Fabian, Polidore Virgil, Edward Hall, Hollingſhead, Stow, Speed, Baker, Clarendon, Whitlocke, and Ludlow. Burnet, Rapin, Hume, Robertſon. Parliamentary Hiſtory. Grey's Debates. Uſe of private Letters, Memorials, and other Remains of Men in public Characters.

THE firſt writer worthy of our notice in the ſixteenth century is *Robert Fabian*, an eminent merchant, and ſome time ſheriff of London, where he died in the year 1512. His *Hiſtoriarum Concordantiæ* conſiſts of ſeven parts, of which the ſix firſt bring down the hiſtory from Brutus to William the Conqueror, and in the ſeventh he gives the hiſtory of our kings from the Conqueror to Henry VII. He is very particular in the affairs of London, many things concerning the government of that great city being noted by him which are not to be met with any where elſe. He mixes all along, the French hiſtory with the Engliſh, but in different chapters. In the beginning of the ſeventh part he obſerves Higden's method, of making his years commence at Michaelmas.

Polydore Virgil was the moſt accompliſhed writer, for elegance and clearneſs of ſtyle, that this age afforded. He wrote the hiſtory of our nation in Latin to Henry VIII. He was much unacquainted with Engliſh affairs, but being a Catholic, he gives a very unfair account of the reformation, and of the conduct of the Proteſtants. His work however is neceſſary to ſupply a chaſm of almoſt ſeventy years in our hiſtory; including particularly.

particularly the lives of Edward IV. and Edward V. which period is hardly to be found in Latin in any other author.

Edward Hall, who was ſome time recorder of London, where he died in the year 1547, wrote a large account of the wars between the houſes of York and Lancaſter, which he dedicates to Henry VIII. If the reader deſires to know what ſort of cloaths were worn in each king's reign, and how the faſhions altered, this is the author for his purpoſe. In other reſpects his information is not very valuable.

The Chronicle written by *William Harriſon* and *Ralph Hollingſhead*, two obſcure clergymen, was well received, and is ſtill greatly eſteemed. Hollingſhead frequently owns the great aſſiſtance he had from Francis Thynne, ſome time Lancaſter herald, and an eminent antiquary in the reign of queen Elizabeth. The ſecond edition of this hiſtory was continued to the year 1586 by John Hooper, alias Vowel.

The firſt author we meet with in the ſeventeenth century is John Stow. He was a member of the merchant taylors' company in London. He travelled through a good part of England in ſearch after manuſcript hiſtorians, in the libraries of our cathedral churches, and was very exact and critical in his collections. Having ſpent above forty years in theſe ſtudies, he was put upon the correction and publiſhing of *Reyne Wolf's Chronicle* by Archbiſhop Whitgift, and he had fairly tranſcribed his work, and made it ready for the preſs, when he died, in the year 1605. Upon his death the reviſing and continuation of his work was committed to Edward Hows, who ſays he beſtowed thirty years in bringing it into that good order and method in which we now ſee it.

The chronicle of *John Speed* is the largeſt and beſt, ſays Mr. Nicholſon, that is extant. It begins with the firſt inhabitants

habitants of the iſland, and ends with the union of the two kingdoms under king James, to whom it is dedicated.

The chronicle of *Richard Baker*, who died in the Fleet in the year 1644, met with very great ſucceſs. The author himſelf wrote the hiſtory of our kings from the Romans down to the end of the reign of James I. and it was continued to the reſtoration by Edward Philip, who having the peruſal of ſome of the duke of Albemarle's papers might have ſet that great revolution in its true light, had not ambition and flattery carried him beyond the truth, and his copy.

In latter times we have had no want of hiſtorians, at leaſt of compilers of hiſtory. The misfortune is that too many of them have been miſled by ſome favourite hypotheſis, which they ſeem to have written to ſupport. To paſs by therefore, ſuch writers as Sir Winſton Churchill, Sandford, Brady, Tyrrel, Echard, Carte, and Guthrie, which are either ſaid to fall under the former cenſure, or are too voluminous, or ill digeſted, to be read with much pleaſure or improvement, I ſhall give a ſhort view of the more conſiderable that remain.

Clarendon, who accompanied Charles II. in his exile, who was afterwards his chancellor, and laſt of all diſcarded by him, wrote a full and pretty faithful hiſtory of the civil wars in the reign of Charles I. But as he is thought to adhere too much to the royal party, it will be neceſſary for the reader to compare his account of things with thoſe of Whitlocke and Ludlow, who were of the oppoſite party; of whom the one was a zealous Preſbyterian and the other an Independent; and who, on account of the rank and employments they bore under the commonwealth, had no leſs advantage than Clarendon of being well informed of what they wrote. Clarendon is the firſt Engliſhman who ſeems to have attempted to write hiſtory with

any degree of dignity; and conſidering how bad a taſte for compoſition prevailed at this time, his ſucceſs was conſiderable. But the length of his periods, and his long and frequent parentheſes are very tireſome.

Few writers have ever had a better opportunity of procuring information than Biſhop Burnet, and the *hiſtory* he has left us of *his own times* is certainly a valuable work. But being a zealous advocate for the houſes of Orange and Hanover, he is charged with great partiality, and perhaps not wholly without reaſon, by the party whoſe principles he oppoſed.

Of all the general hiſtories of our nation till the revolution none are ſo full, and ſo impartial, as that written by *Rapin*, a Frenchman, who came over with king William from Holland, and after having ſerved under him in Ireland, and travelled as tutor to ſome of our Engliſh nobility, retired again to Holland, where he ſpent twenty years in the compoſition of this excellent hiſtory. If this writer be thought tedious in ſome parts of his work, it is owing to his extreme care to omit no circumſtance of any important tranſaction, and to his fidelity in keeping cloſe to his authorities. The notes of Tindal, who tranſlated this work, are an uſeful ſupplement to it, and a correction of it in ſeveral places. The ſame author has written a continuation of Rapin to the reign of George II.

A more entertaining hiſtory of the ſame period, and much ſuperior in point of compoſition, is that of Mr. Hume. For a judicious choice of materials, and a happy diſpoſition of them, together with perſpicuity of ſtyle in recording them, this writer was hardly ever exceeded; eſpecially in the latter part of his work, which is by far the moſt elaborate. The earlier part of his hiſtory is too ſuperficial. He has endeavoured to trace the progreſs of our conſtitution, and has deſcended

more into the internal ſtate of the nation, in exhibiting a view of the manners and ſentiments of each age, the ſtate of property and perſonal ſecurity, with the improvements in the conveniences of life, than moſt other writers; but he has repreſented the ancient government as much more arbitrary than it really was, as will appear by the much more accurate accounts of Dr. Sullivan, and eſpecially Mr. Millar, whoſe work on the Engliſh conſtitution I cannot too ſtrongly recommend. Some great faults in Mr. Hume's hiſtory were well pointed out by Dr. Towers. Mr. Hume is alſo thought by many to have given too favourable an idea of the characters of our princes of the Stewart family, by omitting to mention thoſe particulars in their conduct which have been moſt objected to; and it was probably with a view to exculpate them, that he has taken ſo much pains to give the colour that he has done to the preceding periods of our hiſtory. A good antidote to what is unfavourable to liberty in Mr. Hume will be found in the very maſterly hiſtory of Mrs. Macaulay. Though the ſtyle of Mr. Hume is, upon the whole excellent, yet he has departed more than any other writer of the preſent age from the true Engliſh idiom, and leaned more to that of the French†.

Dr. Robertſon's hiſtory of Scotland throws great light upon the reign of queen Elizabeth, and in point of compoſition is not inferior to Hume.

A valuable treaſure of materials for the conſtitutional hiſtory of England is contained in the *parliamentary hiſtory* lately publiſhed, and in the *journals* and debates in the houſe of Commons

† This I pointed out in the *Notes and obſervations*, ſubjoined to my *Engliſh Grammar*. To a common friend he acknowledged the juſtneſs of my remarks, and promiſed to correct his ſtyle in future editions of his work; and I believe he has in a great meaſure done it.

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by various hands, among which thoſe taken by Mr. Grey are the moſt valuable, relating to the times before and after the important period of the revolution.

It is in ſuch large works as theſe, and the letters and journals of eminent men, who had a conſiderable ſhare in the tranſactions of their times, as thoſe of Melville, Henry Lord Clarendon, and others, that we are tranſported as it were into thoſe paſt times. Theſe give us an inſight into the manners and turn of thinking, which prevailed in them, and bring us intimately acquainted with the perſons who made the greateſt figure in them. Hereby we are enabled to enter into their ſentiments and views, and have a clear idea of their peculiar character, temper and manner. In ſuch works as theſe the men themſelves are ſeen acting and ſpeaking; whereas in general hiſtory we are, at beſt, only told how they ſpoke and acted, which is a thing very different from the former. Of ſuch books as theſe there has been no want ſince the introduction of printing into England, particularly from the reign of Henry VIII. ſo that a very ſatisfactory idea of our hiſtory from that time may be had by any perſon who will take the requiſite pains for it.

LECTURE XXVIII.

Hiſtories of particular Lives and Reigns. Of William the Conqueror by William of Poictiers. Of Edward II. *by Thomas de la More. Of Henry* V. *by Titus Livius. Of Edward* IV. *by Haddington. Of Edward* V. *by Sir Thomas Moore. Of Henry* VII. *by Sir Francis Bacon. Of Henry* VIII. *by Lord Herbert of Cherbury. Edward* VI*th's own Diary. Of Elizabeth by Camden. Lives written by Harris and others.*

TO the former writers of *general hiſtory*, or of the hiſtory of their own times, we ſhall find our account in adding thoſe who have confined themſelves to the hiſtory of *particular monarchs*; ſince from theſe, if not manifeſtedly under ſome prejudices, we may expect the fulleſt and moſt ſatisfactory accounts. I ſhall therefore ſubjoin a brief account of the moſt valuable writers of this claſs.

The life of William the Conqueror was written by *William of Poictiers*. Though he was a foreigner, and under ſome obligations to the king, he has acquited himſelf with great impartiality. There is alſo a ſhort anonymous hiſtory of his reign publiſhed by Silas Taylor at the end of his treatiſe of Gavelkind. This writer lived in the reign of Henry I. ſo that he might be ſufficiently informed of the truth of all that he relates. But Sir William Temple has given us the moſt excellent and judicious account of this king's reign and policy.

King Stephen's memoirs were collected by *Richard Prior of Hexham*, and are printed among the *decem ſcriptores*.

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The hiſtory of Henry II. has of late been very elaborately written by lord Littleton.

The expedition of Richard I. into the Holy Land was celebrated by *Joſeph Iſcanus*, in a poem intitled *Antiocheis*. It is in heroic verſe, and in a ſtyle much ſuperior to what might be expected from his age. This author was one who accompanied his hero into the Holy Land.

The life of Edward II. was accurately written by *Sir Thomas De la More*, who was knighted by Edward I. was counſellor of Edward II. and lived to the beginning of the more proſperous reign of Edward III. It was firſt tranſlated from French into Latin by Walter Baker, a canon of Oſney, near Oxford, and has frequently been publiſhed in Engliſh. Sir Henry Cary has alſo written the hiſtory of this unfortunate prince, with political obſervations on him, and his unhappy favourites Gaveſton and Spencer.

The life of Henry V. was written at large by one who called himſelf *Titus Livius*, and under that name dedicated it to king Henry VI. We have two good copies of this work, one in Sir John Cotton's library, the other in that of Bennet College.

The life of Edward IV. has been written by *Mr. Haddington*, as well as could be expected from one who lived at ſo great a diſtance from him.

The ſhort and lamentable hiſtory of Edward V. was largely and elegantly deſcribed by the famous *Sir Thomas More*, lord chancellor of England, who alſo began, but did not finiſh, the hiſtory of Richard III.

The hiſtory of Henry VII. has been written in an excellent manner by Sir Francis Bacon. He has entered as it were into all his councils, has largely deſcribed every thing of importance, and dwelt upon nothing trivial.

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The hiſtory of Henry VIII. has been written by Edward Lord Herbert of Cherbury, with almoſt as much reputation as lord chancellor Bacon gained by that of Henry VII. This author, however, has dwelt chiefly on affairs of war and policy, and has not entered far into the eccleſiaſtical hiſtory of that reign, which is nevertheleſs the moſt important and intereſting.

The moſt conſiderable tranſactions of the reign of Edward VI. are well regiſtered by the young king himſelf, in the diary written by his own hand, which is ſtill preſerved in the Cotton library, from which Biſhop Burnet tranſcribed and publiſhed it.

The long and proſperous reign of queen Elizabeth was written by Mr. Camden, by the ſpecial direction and command of lord Cecil. It has gone through ſeveral editions, and in ſeveral languages, though it is pity, Nicholſon ſays, it ſhould be read in any other than its author's polite original Latin. The ſame reign has likewiſe been written lately by Mr. Birch.

The hiſtory of the laſt century has been very much illuſtrated by ſeveral ſingle lives lately publiſhed, particularly thoſe of James I. Charles I. and Oliver Cromwell, by Mr. Harris, in the way of *text and notes*, after the manner of Boyle*.

* As hiſtories of particular reigns and lives are continually multiplying, I leave this lecture a ſhort one, to give room for an account of them.

LECT.

LECTURE XXIX.

Light thrown upon the Civil Hiſtory of England by the eccleſiaſtical Writers. Odericus Vitalis, &c. Burnet's Hiſtory of the Reformation. Cranmer's Memorials publiſhed by Strype. An Acquaintance with the old Engliſh Law-books uſeful to an Engliſh Hiſtorian. Cuſtumier de Normandy. Glanville, Bracton, Fleta, Hengham, Horn's Mirroir de Juſtice, Breton, Novæ Narrationes, Forteſcue de Laudibus legam Angliæ, Statham's Abridgment of Reports, Littleton and Coke, Doctor and Student, Fitzherbert de Natura Brevium. Year Books, Reports, &c. Wood's Inſtitute.

IN order to obtain a complete knowledge of the political affairs of this nation, it will be neceſſary to attend to the *Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory* of it; particularly as before and during the reformation, the affairs of the church and ſtate were ſo intimately united, that no writer can give a complete idea of either of them ſeparately. Even thoſe writers who confined themſelves the moſt to eccleſiaſtical matters never fail to introduce a good deal of political hiſtory. Thus Odericus Vitalis, who wrote thirteen books of church hiſtory, in his firſt and ſecond books treats pretty largely of the military actions of the Normans, in France, England, and Apulia, to the year 1141, about which time he lived.

Of eccleſiaſtical hiſtorians there has been no failure ſince the firſt introduction of chriſtianity into this iſland, quite down to the

the reformation. Of theſe ſome have written general eccleſiaſtical hiſtory, others the particular hiſtories of certain biſhoprics and biſhops, of particular orders of monks and ſaints; but for theſe I refer you to Nicholſon, who has treated very largely of all the moſt conſiderable of them; it not being my buſineſs to take notice of church hiſtory, any farther than it is neceſſarily connected with civil. In this view, however, I muſt not fail to mention *Burnet's Hiſtory of the Reformation.* For never were the affairs of church and ſtate ſo intimately connected as during that period. This hiſtorian gives us a particular account of all the affairs of the reformation, from its firſt beginning in the reign of Henry VIII. till it was finally ſettled and completed by queen Elizabeth in the year 1559. The collection of records which he gives in the concluſion of each volume ſupplies good vouchers of the truth of all he advances in the body of his hiſtory, and are much more perfect than could reaſonably be expected, after the pains taken in queen Mary's time to ſuppreſs every thing that carried the marks of the reformation upon it.

The *Memorials of Archbiſhop Cranmer* have been publiſhed by Mr. Strype, who has adhered to Burnet's method, giving his own hiſtorical account in three books; the firſt of which ends at the death of Henry VIII. the ſecond at the death of Edward IV. and the third at that of Cranmer himſelf. In the concluſion there is a good collection of *records*, among which are ſeveral authentic letters, and other papers of value then firſt made public.

Of all the books not directly hiſtorical, none are of ſuch immediate uſe, for the moſt valuable purpoſes of hiſtory, as LAW BOOKS. In theſe we may trace both the greater and more minute

changes in the internal conſtitution of the nation, with innumerable other important articles of which general hiſtorians take but little notice. I ſhall therefore give a brief account of all our moſt ancient law books, nearly in the order in which they were written.

The firſt book of laws which draws our attention is that which is entitled *Couſtumier de Normandy*, and would do much more ſo, if it were, as ſome have imagined, an ancient formulary drawn up by the firſt princes of that country, and brought in hither by the conqueror. But though it contains many particulars which prove it not to be of ſo great antiquity, it would ſtill be of conſiderable value, if it were compiled, as the author himſelf hints, forty years after the acceſſion of king Richard. There are in it many of the laws of Edward the Confeſſor, and other Saxon kings, but mixed with Norman cuſtoms that are no way related to them. Though a great part of this compilation is very ancient, ſeveral paragraphs are tranſlated almoſt *verbatim* out of Glanville; yet ſome of his courts of juſtice, original writs, &c. are not ſo much as named in it.

The next author is *Rainulph de Glanville*, who was chief juſtice in the reign of Henry II. The book that now bears his name (though there have been ſome diſputes about the author of it) was firſt publiſhed by the perſuaſion and procurement of Sir William Stamford, and has ſince had ſeveral editions. Its title is *Tractatus de legibus et Conſuetudinibus Regni Angliæ, &c.* It is divided into fourteen books, each of which relates to a diſtinct diviſion of the law, as it ſtood in his time; and in all theſe he gives the forms of ſuch *writs* as were then, and are moſtly ſtill in uſe, upon all the ſeveral occaſions that are treated of.

John Bracton, the author of a treatiſe which goes by his name, was judge itinerant in the latter end of the reign of Henry

III. and the beginning of Edward I. This truly venerable code of our ancient common law conſiſts of five books, which begin with the ſeveral legal ways of procuring property, and proceed to thoſe of the juſt maintaining or recovering it. This method is very conformable to that of the emperor Juſtinian, whoſe laws are alſo ſometimes quoted as familiarly as if they were part of the known common law of this kingdom. On every head this author interſperſes a regiſter of proper writs, and reports of adjudged caſes in both benches, as alſo of ſuch as had been tried before the judges in Eyre, aſſize, &c.

The author of that methodical and learned treatiſe which bears the name of *Fleta*, wrote in the reign of one of the Edwards, moſt probably the ſecond or third. In his firſt book he inſiſts chiefly upon the pleas of the crown, in the ſecond he gives a moſt full and curious account of all the affairs of the king's houſhold, with many other particulars that greatly illuſtrate the hiſtory of thoſe times; and in the four following he ſhews the practice of our courts of judicature, the forms of writs, explication of law terms, &c. He ſometimes tranſcribes the very words of Bracton, and ſometimes has the ſame things that we find in one of Bracton's epitomizers, Gilbert de Thornton.

The laſt mentioned writer modelled his abſtract of the common law as he thought would be moſt uſeful in explaining acts of parliament. He frequently quits Bracton's method, and makes uſe of one which looks more confuſed.

Sir Ralph de Hengham was chief juſtice of the king's bench and of the common pleas in the reign of Edward I. His *Summa's* have always paſt under the titles of *Hingham Magna*, and *parva*, and have both the ſame common ſubject, treating of the ancient and now obſolete forms of pleading in *eſſoins* and defaults. They were long ſince tranſlated into Engliſh; but that

that being done in the language of Edward II.'s or III.'s time, it was thought moſt adviſeable to print them in their original Latin. This was done by Mr. Selden, who publiſhed them with Forteſcue, adding a few notes of his own in Engliſh.

Beſides theſe, there were many more treatiſes on matters of law, written in the time of Edward I. wherein the practice of the bar began firſt to flouriſh; but not being much conducive to the purpoſe of hiſtory, the mention of them is omitted in this place.

Andrew Horn, the author of the *Mirroir de Juſtice*, lived in the reign of Edward II. His deſign was to give the judges of his time a view of what they ſhould have been, and what they were. He frequently quotes the rolls of the Saxon times, and even their very *year books*, which are now vaniſhed; which ſhews that we have loſt many of our beſt helps to the knowledge of the hiſtory of thoſe ages. He pretends to have peruſed all the laws of this iſland ever ſince the reign of king Arthur. The Engliſh edition differs very much from the French, and yet the tranſlator pretends that he kept cloſe to the words and meaning of his author.

That excellent French manual of our laws which bears the name of *Briton*, Mr. Nicholſon thinks was written by that John Breton, whom, we find one of the king's juſtices together with Ralph and Roger de Hengham, in the firſt year of Edward II. Wingate's edition is juſtly commended for the care and judgment of the publiſher; ſuch various readings being added in the appendix as ſerve very much to ſupply the defects of the former impreſſion. The language is the true old French of the thirteenth century, as appears from the authentic inſtruments of thoſe days, and differs conſiderably from that of Littleton in the fifteenth. The whole book runs in the name and ſtile of

the king himſelf, as a ſummary of all the laws then in force within the kingdom of England and dominion of Ireland.

It is generally agreed that the art of pleading was brought to its perfection in the reign of Edward III. when the little manual of entries which bears the name of *Novæ Narrationes* was firſt collected and publiſhed. It gives us ſuch forms of courts, declarations, defenſors, pleas, &c. as were then in uſe. To which are added the *articuli ad novas narrationes*, being a commentary or ſome ſhort rules upon them. But all theſe are few and defective in compariſon with what we have in thoſe books of entries which are the work of later times, the chief whereof are thoſe by *William Raſtal*, *Sir Edward Coke*, and *Sir Humphry Winch*.

Sir John Forteſcue was chief juſtice of the king's bench during half the reign of Henry VI. In his book, which is entitled *De Laudibus Legum Angliæ*, and which is written by way of dialogue between the prince and himſelf, he proves that all kings are under obligation to be converſant in the laws of their own realms; that our laws are not alterable at the ſole will of our monarchs; that our conſtitution, or common law, is the moſt reaſonable, as well as the moſt ancient in Europe, and more equitable in many things, in which he inſtances, than even the civil law, or the laws of neighbouring nations, and that our kings are greater and more potent in the liberties and properties of their own people, than arbitrary tyrants in the vaſſalage of their ſlaves. This book was firſt tranſlated and publiſhed, together with its Engliſh verſion, by R. Mulcaſter, and was afterwards reviſed and improved with a few curſory notes, by Mr. Selden.

Nicholas Statham, one of the barons of the exchequer in the time of Edward IV. was the firſt who reduced the larger arguments

guments and tedious reports of the year books into a ſhort ſyſtem under proper heads and common places, which he did as low as the reign of Henry VI. His example has been followed by many other perſons.

Sir Thomas Littleton was one of the juſtices of common pleas in the reign of Edward IV. His *book of Tenures* is ſtudied by every body who pretends to any acquaintance with the municipal law of this kingdom, and has been more frequently printed than any other law book whatever; though many particulars of his common law are altered by acts of parliament, and others are diſuſed and grown obſolete. Sir Edward Coke ſays that this is the moſt perfect and abſolute work that ever was written in any human ſcience. The firſt volume of *Coke's Inſtitutes* is only a tranſlation and comment upon this book. Sir Edward's *Complete Copyholder*, may alſo be read as a ſecond commentary on Littleton's tenures; and together with theſe, it will be highly convenient to peruſe Sir Henry Spelman's treatiſe on the original growth, propagation, and condition of lands and tenures by knight's ſervice in England.

The dialogue in two parts, which goes by the name of the *Doctor and Student*, was written by one Chriſtopher St. Germain, barriſter of the Inner Temple, who died in the year 1540. The deſign of the book was to enquire into the grounds and reaſons of the common law of England, and to ſhew how conſiſtent every one of its precepts is with right reaſon and a good conſcience.

Sir Anthony Fitzherbert was one of the juſtices of the common pleas in the reign of Henry VIII. and was author of the *New Natura brævium*, which was carefully reviewed by William Raſtal, who added a table and ſome other proper ornaments to what its excellent author ſeems to have left unfiniſhed.

There

There were ten volumes of the *year books* printed by ſubſcription in the year 1679. Theſe began with the reign of Edward III. and ended with that of the reign of Henry VIII. To theſe were afterwards added the caſes adjudged in the time of Edward II. collected by Serjeant Mainard, out of ſeveral ancient manuſcripts.

Anciently judgments at the common law were recorded with the reaſons and cauſes of ſuch judgments, and the cuſtom was continued during the whole reign of Edward I. and a great part of that of Edward II. But this cuſtom ceaſed in Edward III.'s time, when cauſes were numerous, and the practice of the law was brought to its full perfection. Hence aroſe the trouble of thoſe *reporters of caſes*, who from the beginning of that reign have ſupplied the defects of the records, and not only afford us, as theſe do, the final determination of the judges in each caſe, but alſo the intermediate reaſonings and debates on which ſuch judgment was founded. The authors of theſe reports are very numerous, and are daily increaſing.

The preceding writers are neceſſary to be ſtudied by a perſon who would enter minutely into the ſtate of the kingdom with reſpect to thoſe things to which they relate; but a perſon may underſtand our general hiſtorians very well if he be maſter of *Blackſtone's Commentaries*, for the preſent ſtate of the law, Sullivan's Lectures, and Dalrymple on feudal property, together with ſome of Lord Kaim's law tracts, for the ancient ſtate of it, and the capital changes it has undergone to the preſent time. Jacob's Law Dictionary is likewiſe a very uſeful book to be conſulted occaſionally, in reading a courſe of Engliſh hiſtory; as alſo Brady's Gloſſary, ſubjoined to his Introduction to the old Engliſh Hiſtory. But without ſome knowledge of the Engliſh law, it can be but a very lame and imperfect idea that any perſon can get of the Engliſh hiſtory.

LECTURE XXX.

Of the Engliſh Records. Royal Proclamations. Diſpatches and Inſtructions for Foreign Miniſters. Leagues, Treaties, Memorials, &c. where to be found. Records of the Old Court of Chivalry. Agard's Collections. Cotton's Library. Records of Foreign States. Rymer's Fœdera. The Green Cloth. Acts of Parliament. Raſtal's Collection. Prynne's Abridgment, and others. Journals of both Houſes. Summons of the Nobility in Dugdale. Records in the Courts of Weſtminſter. Diſpoſition of the Records in the Tower.

FROM books and writings which have been publiſhed, I proceed to give ſome account of the various kinds of *records* which our country affords, and which a diligent hiſtorian may greatly avail himſelf of. Of theſe records, ſome or other are daily publiſhed, but many are of ſuch a nature that we can never expect there will be any other than ſingle copies of them extant; or at moſt but a few copies of each. Theſe therefore cannot be conſulted without having recourſe to the places where they are preſerved, of which I ſhall give the beſt information I can collect from Nicholſon and other writers.

To preſerve as much diſtinctneſs as poſſible in this account, I ſhall firſt give an account of thoſe records which are preſerved within the verge of the king's Court and Palace Royal; ſecondly, of thoſe which relate to the two houſes of parliament, thirdly, thoſe of the courts of Weſtminſter, &c. and laſtly, thoſe of an eccleſiaſtical nature. Articles of leſs note will be

be introduced occaſionally, where the mention of them will appear the moſt natural.

The ſociety of antiquaries projected by Sir Robert Cotton, Mr. Camden, and others, took particular care to make it one of the rules and ſtatutes of their community, that all the *proclamations* of our kings and queens ſhould be preſerved in their library. Theſe are the more valuable, becauſe general hiſtorians, although they take notice of what is commanded or prohibited by royal authority, ſeldom give us the reaſons of ſuch public edicts, which are always expreſſed in the inſtrument itſelf, and are much more valuable than it, as they often contain a good part of the hiſtory of the times.

Charters, and letters patent, making grants of privileges, offices, and penſions are at this day enrolled in chancery; but as they formerly took their riſe at the king's Court of Reſidence they are to be looked for in the paper office.

To diſtinguiſh thoſe that are truly ancient and genuine from ſuch as are counterfeit, it will be requiſite to be perfectly well ſkilled in the ſeveral changes that have been made in the kings ſeals and titles, of which Nicholſon gives a particular account. For ancient and modern precedents of characters conſult Shepherd's treatiſe of corporations, fraternities and gilds.

Occaſional proclamations with all diſpatches and inſtructions for foreign miniſters, letters of intelligence, and other public papers which are communicated to the two ſecretaries of ſtate, are tranſmitted to the *paper office*, wherein they are all diſpoſed by way of library, in a place of good ſecurity and convenience within the king's Royal Palace at Whitehall. There are likewiſe the credentials of ambaſſadors, the letters of foreign princes and ſtates, leagues, treaties, memorials, &c. Of what great uſe to any hiſtorian a free acceſs to this treaſure

ſure may be, appears from Burnet's hiſtory of the Reformation. Beſides theſe aſſiſtances, the inquiſitive hiſtorian will here find a great variety of papers relating to the decrees and tranſactions of ſeveral of our ancient as well as modern palace courts.

The court of chivalry has been long diſcontinued, but ſome of its records that relate to the proceedings in the Marſhalſea are ſtill in the Paper-office. There is however little in them to an hiſtorian's purpoſe. What is moſt conſiderable in this rich treaſure is the vaſt collection we here meet with of memorials, inſtructions, plenipotentiary powers, granted in ſeveral reigns and on ſeveral occaſions to our ambaſſadors and envoys, or papers of the like kind preſented by the miniſters of foreign princes and ſtates reſiding in England. That great light in hiſtory may be had from theſe is evident from *Diggs*'s *complete Ambaſſador*, the hiſtory of Sir Thomas Randolf's embaſſy to the emperor of Ruſſia, and many other works.

In the Receipt-office in the Exchequer there is a ſhort collection of all leagues, treaties of peace, intercourſes and marriages with foreign nations, compiled by the induſtrious antiquary Agard; but this falls infinitely ſhort of that immenſe ſtore which Sir John Cotton's library will afford of theſe matters. We have there no leſs than forty-three volumes of treaties between the Engliſh, Scotch, and French, in a fair and regular method, beſides many more of the like kind in a more looſe and diſperſed condition.

Nor are the memoirs of our own ambaſſadors only of great uſe to an Engliſh hiſtorian; thoſe of our neighbouring nations are no leſs ſo; thoſe eſpecially with which this kingdom has maintained the greateſt correſpondence in treaties of peace and commerce; as France and Holland, from which countries we are often obliged to fetch our information in ſome articles,

concerning which our own hiſtorians afford us no ſatisfaction. The like may be ſaid of Denmark, Sweden, &c. whenever we find our own affairs interwoven with thoſe of other countries. This want is in part ſupplied by *Rymer's Fœdera*, an immenſe work, undertaken by the command, and at the expence of queen Anne. It contains not only finiſhed treaties, but letters of great princes, and their chief miniſters of ſtate, inſtructions to ambaſſadors, and other miniſters reſiding in foreign courts, Papal bulls of all kinds, congé d'elires, and of reſtitution of temporalities, royal mandates to the clergy for commemorative maſſes, faſts, and thankſgivings, &c. ſculptures of ancient hands and ſeals, and many other curious pieces of antiquity.

There is another repoſitory of court records which is commonly known by the name of the *green cloth*. In this office are not only preſerved the accounts of the king's houſhold expences, but alſo ſuch orders as have from time to time been given by the lord ſteward, chamberlain, comptroller, &c. for the more regular behaviour of the inferior ſervants. There likewiſe (and not in Chancery) were commonly inrolled all letters and writings concerning ſuch matters of ſtate as were not fit to be made public.

A collection of the *laws* before Magna Charta was made by Sir Henry Spelman, and is now among the many choice manuſcripts in the Bodleian library.

Acts of parliament often give hints of the manners and cuſtoms which prevailed at the time of their being enacted, ſo that many parts of our hiſtory may be recovered from them; eſpecially if compared with the writers either in divinity or morality about the ſame date. Thus the ſtatute againſt the multiplication of metals ſhows the attention which was given to chemical experiments in order to diſcover the philoſopher's

ſtone; and Chaucer's tale of the cannon yeomen confirms the ſame fact.

The putting of marginal notes to the ſtatutes at large was firſt begun by William Raſtal, who collected all in force from Magna Charta to the fourth year of Philip and Mary. Theſe collections have been carried on by different hands to the preſent time. But ſince theſe collections are in many reſpects deficient, the diligent hiſtorian will be obliged to have recourſe to the original records.

Before the uſe of printing, and till the reign of Henry VII. the ſtatutes were all engroſſed on parchment, and proclaimed openly in every county; but this cuſtom has ſince been diſcontinued. In theſe parliamentary rolls are many deciſions of difficult points in law, in which we have not only the final reſolution and judgment of the court, but alſo the reaſons of it.

An exact abridgment of as many of the parliamentary records as were to be had in the Tower of London, from the reign of Edward II. to that of Richard III. was made by Sir Robert Cotton, and publiſhed by William Prynne. There is a fair tranſcript of thoſe from the firſt of Edward III. to the forty-third of queen Elizabeth in the Cotton library, where there are alſo two volumes of indexes to the Tower records.

The laſt ſort of parliamentary records are the journals of the lords and commons, wherein every vote that paſſes is carefully regiſtered by the clerks of the ſeveral houſes. A complete journal of the tranſactions of both houſes, from the firſt of Henry VIII. to the ſeventh of Edward VI. was drawn up by Robert Boyer, and is now in the Cotton library; but the ſureſt fountain is that of the original records themſelves in the Tower and Parliament-office. Theſe journals have lately been printed.

Sir William Dugdale has given us a perfect copy of all the ſummons's of the nobility to all the great councils and parliaments of this realm, from the forty-ninth of Henry III. to the preſent times, wherein we likewiſe find the like mandates to the clergy and commons.

The records of the king's courts at Weſtminſter are firſt depoſited in the chapel at the rolls, and as that grows full and overſtocked, they are removed to the Tower; where, in two ſeveral apartments, they are methodically arranged according to their various kinds and uſes. In Wakefield Tower are the inrollments of leagues and treaties with foreign princes, the original laws as they paſſed the royal aſſent, authentic memoirs of the Engliſh atchievements in France and other nations, forms of homage from the kings of Scotland, the eſtabliſhment and laws of Ireland, liberties, and privileges granted to cities, corporations, and private ſubjects, tenures and ſurveys of lands and manures, inſpeximus's of charters and deeds, made before and ſoon after the Norman conqueſt, boundaries of all the foreſts in England, &c. In ſhort, we have here, according to the petition of the commons in parliament, *the perpetual evidence of every man's right*, without which no ſtory of the nation (to uſe Dr. Chamberlain's words) can be written or proved. In Julius Cæſar's chapel in the White Tower there is another vaſt collection of records, out of which the indefatigable William Prynne collected his four large volumes. Any of theſe may be ſeen and peruſed by thoſe who have occaſion to conſult them, there being a perſon appointed to attend for that purpoſe, eight hours every day in ſummer, and ſix in winter.

In the records of the courts of King's-bench we are to look for all judgments upon notorious treaſons, breaches of the peace, &c. as alſo for the like upon common pleas, by bill

for

for debt, covenant, promiſe, &c. againſt the immediate officers of the King's court. The public records of this court, as well as thoſe of the Common Pleas, preceding the firſt year of Henry VI. are in the chapter-houſe of the church of Weſtminſter; but thoſe of that year and downwards are kept in the upper treaſury, adjoining to Weſtminſter-hall; ſuch only excepted as are of daily uſe, and not above ten years old, which are in the cuſtody of the clerks in the lower treaſury.

LECTURE XXXI.

The petty Bag-office. The Maſter of the Rolls. Regiſtrum de Cancellaria. Lower Exchequer. The Pipe-office. The ſeveral Remembrancers. Doomſday Book. The red Book of the Exchequer. The black Book. Teſta Nevilli. Records of the inferior Courts. Thoſe kept by the Secretary of the Admiralty. The Office of Ordnance. The Libraries and Muſeums of Noblemen and private Gentlemen. Uſe of the Britiſh Muſeum. What Records have been publiſhed. Formulare Anglicanum. Pedigrees of ancient Families. Old Accounts of Expences and Diſburſements in Families. Ledger Books, and other Domeſtic Records. Monaſticum Anglicanum by Dugdale. Notitia Monaſtica by Tanner. Univerſity Monuments. Hiſtoriola Oxonienſis. Wood's Hiſtory and Antiquities of Oxford. Black Book of Cambridge. Lives of Engliſh Writers by Leland and others. Regiſters in Eccleſiaſtical Courts.

THE records of that court of Chancery wherein the proceſs runs *ſecundum legem et conſuetudinem Angliæ* are filed up in the *petty bag-office*. The chief clerk of this court is the maſter

maſter of the Rolls. In his keeping are the inrollments of all letters patent, treaties, and leagues, deeds, and purchaſes, recognizances, commiſſions of appeal, oyer and terminer, &c. ever ſince the beginning of the reign of Henry VII. the reſt having been tranſmitted to the Tower. Moſt of the Chancery records were deſtroyed by the rebels under Wat Tyler in the time of Richard II.

There are ſeveral repoſitories of the records belonging to the high court of Chancery, all of which are under the immediate care and inſpection of the maſter of the Rolls. Firſt, In the chapel of the Rolls, the oldeſt record is a patent roll of Edward V. thoſe that bear any higher date being long ſince depoſited in the Tower. Thoſe of the following reigns to the end of queen Elizabeth, and ſomewhat lower, are ſtill kept here in good order. Secondly, *The petty Bag-office* firſt receives the enrollments of patents with the privy ſeals and eſtreats from the ſix clerks, but is obliged to tranſmit the former to the chapel, and the latter to the Exchequer; ſo that nothing ancient is to be looked for here. Thirdly, In *the Examiner's-office* are depoſitions of witneſſes, from the beginning of the reign of Edward VI. and ſome few that are higher. Fourthly, The moſt noble repoſitory of the ancient records in Chancery is in the *Tower*, under the ultimate inſpection of the maſter of the Rolls. The principal treaſure under his charge lies in ſeveral preſſes within that part of the palace which bears the name of *Wakefield Tower*. The contents of theſe are very large. A general account of them in alphabetical order may be ſeen in Nicholſon.

Another conſiderable treaſure of records within the precincts of the Tower of London, and under the ſame inſpection with the former, is in that part which is called *Cæſar's Chapel*. There is a large collection of proceedings in Chancery as high as the

times

times of Henry IV. together with regular bills, anſwers and depoſitions, from the firſt year of queen Elizabeth, privy ſeals, manucaptions, &c. from the days of Edward I. and ſeveral other particulars.

There is one famous monument of antiquity belonging to this court which they call *Regiſtrum de Cancellaria*, or the regiſter of writs, containing the form of writs at the common law. Theſe have often been printed.

In the hands of the two chamberlains of the lower Exchequer there are many ancient records, leagues, and treaties with foreign princes, ſtandards of money, weights, and meaſures, &c. There were anciently four ſeveral apartments wherein the records of the Exchequer were kept, being all in the cuſtody and under the charge of the chamberlains of that court. A particular account of theſe with their contents may be ſeen in Nicholſon.

Of the other repoſitories of exchequer records the principal is the *Pipe-office*, wherein are kept the *great rolls of the Exchequer*, that is one bundle for every year, from the reign of king Henry II. to the preſent time. In theſe are ſtated the accounts of the royal revenue, whether certain or caſual. The moſt ancient record in this office is that which bears the name of king Stephen.

There are alſo other offices belonging to this high court not to be overlooked by an hiſtorian, which are known by the name of their ſeveral *remembrancers*, as firſt, that of the *Queen's Remembrancer*; ſecondly, of the *Lord Treaſurer's Remembrancer*; thirdly, the *Office of Pleas*; and fourthly, the *Office of Remembrancer of firſt Fruits and Tenths*. To theſe are to be added the *Courts* of *Wards*, the records of which now make part of the treaſury of the Queen's-

Queen's-bench. There is alſo an apartment in the Exchequer bears the name of the *Augmentation-office*. For the contents of theſe I refer to Nicholſon.

Among all the ancient records in the Exchequer, *Doomſday book* is deſervedly of the greateſt reputation and value. It is a tax book made by the commiſſioners of William the Conqueror, wherein is an exact ſurvey of all the cities, towns, and villages in England. It does not only account for the ſeveral baronies, knights fees, and plough lands, but gives alſo the number of families, men, ſoldiers, huſbandmen, ſervants, and cattle; what rent, how much meadow, paſture, woods, tillage, common heath, marſh, &c. every one poſſeſſed. It is in two volumes, whereof the former gives a ſuccinct deſcription of thirty-three counties, and the latter a ſomewhat larger account of Eſſex, Norfolk, and Suffolk. In the front of each county ſtands a liſt of the lords of the ſoil; that is, the king and a few of his nobles. Sir Henry Spelman has given us a ſample of the book, but it is ſaid that the ſociety of antiquaries are about undertaking the publication of the whole.

There is alſo in the keeping of the king's remembrancer a miſcellany of ancient treaties, which go by the name of the *red book of the Exchequer*. It has ſome things (as the number of the hides of land in many of our counties) relating to the times before the conqueſt, and the ceremonies uſed at the coronation of queen Eleanor wife to king Henry III. There is likewiſe an exact collection of the eſcuages under Henry II. Richard I. and king John.

The *black book* is ſuppoſed to have been compiled by Gervaſe of Tilbury, nephew to king Henry II. In this we have the hiſtory of the firſt inſtitution of the court of the king's Exchequer; the manner

manner of ſtating the accounts of thoſe times, and the way of collecting the rents, both in money and purveyances of victuals, &c.

The great roll which bears the name of *Teſta Nevilli* was compiled in the reign of Henry III. and contains an account of all the lands held in grand or petty ſergeantry within the county of Hereford.

The Engliſh hiſtorian will alſo find his account in conſulting occaſionally the records of aſſize, ſeſſions of the peace, and other inferior courts in England, and in Wales. He ought alſo to look into the navy office, and the abſtracts of accounts, liſts of the old and new ſhipping, from the ſeveral yards at Deptford, Woolwich, Chatham, &c. all which may be ſeen in the cuſtody of the ſecretary of the admiralty.

For a juſt eſtimate of the military force in England, there are ſeveral repoſitories of papers and rolls, with which an hiſtorian ſhould be acquainted. But above all the *office of ordnance* will afford him the beſt acquaintance with the proviſions of war. All orders and inſtructions for the government of this office, as likewiſe all patents, and grants to the many officers, artificers, attendants, and labourers, with the quarter books for ſalaries, ledgers, receipts, and returns of his majeſty's ſtores, &c. are in the cuſtody of the clerk of the ordnance; as thoſe for the giving out of any proviſions, or ſtores, either at the Tower or any other of the king's magazines, are under the care of the clerk of the delivery.

To underſtand the hiſtory of our trade and commerce, it will be neceſſary to conſult the accounts of exports and imports of all our ſea ports; with the amount of the duties paid for them, which will be found with the officers who have the inſpection

of the exciſe and cuſtoms, and alſo in the journals of the Houſe of Commons.

The libraries and muſeums of many noblemen and private gentlemen are able to afford a good ſupply of materials to an hiſtorian who can procure intelligence of them, and have acceſs to them. And ſince the opening of the *Britiſh Muſeum* many perſons are daily contributing to that immenſe and valuable collection, by ſending ancient writings and manuſcripts; which are much more uſeful when they are thus made the property of the public, than they could be while they were in their own private cuſtody.

A great number of conveyances, deeds, and other papers and records, in the hands of private ſubjects, were deſtroyed in the civil wars; but the ſubverſion of monaſteries deſtroyed the greateſt number of thoſe uſeful materials for hiſtory; ſince many of the moſt conſiderable Engliſh families had committed their moſt valuable writings to the cuſtody of the monks, in whoſe hands they thought them ſafer than at home. The ſmall ſcraps of parchment and of paper, on which they were commonly written, were more liable to be loſt than the more bulky inſtruments of our days.

Many collections of theſe private records have been publiſhed. Particularly we have a very valuable and judicious collection of contracts, grants, and other evidences gathered chiefly out of the augmentation office by Mr. Maddox, who has placed them in a methodical order, and aſcertained the age of every ſingle inſtrument, from the Norman conqueſt to the end of the reign of Henry VIII. under the title of *Formulare Anglicanum*. The general heads of this work are certificates, confirmations, compoſitions, feoffments, letters of attorney, releaſes, wills, &c. the

the greateſt part of which are certainly genuine; and notice is given when there ſeems to be reaſon for ſuſpecting any of them.

Had pedigrees been carefully preſerved in all the great families in England, they would have been of excellent ſervice to an hiſtorian; ſince the moſt remarkable circumſtances in the lives of eminent perſons are uſually recorded in them. But few of theſe pedigrees are to be met with.

Old accounts of expences and diſburſements in the families of noblemen and perſons of quality will be of ſingular uſe to an hiſtorian, who cannot but be ſenſible of what importance it is to take notice of the prices of food, cloaths, and other conveniences of life, the wages of ſervants, and day-labours, &c.

It is needleſs to obſerve what advantage may accrue to hiſtory from the *epiſtolary correſpondence*, and private journals, of eminent ſtateſmen, as alſo from the lives of ſuch perſons, in which the moſt important part of the hiſtory of their times is neceſſarily introduced.

The uſe of the *ledger-books*, and other monaſtic records is very apparent. The moſt eminent of our hiſtorians are greatly indebted to them. Hence they are enabled to clear the deſcents and pedigrees of many noble families, the tenures of eſtates, the ancient cuſtoms of counties, cities, and great towns, the foundations and endowments of churches, &c. For how ſparing or defective ſoever the monks might be in recording the public affairs of ſtate, we are ſure they were extremely diligent in noting thoſe of their own monaſteries; whence it is, that the hiſtories of thoſe cathedrals which were anciently in their poſſeſſion are the moſt entire of any in the kingdom.

The greateſt treaſure of this kind of eccleſiaſtical records is contained in the famous *Monaſticon Anglicanum*, publiſhed in three volumes folio by Sir William Dugdale, and Mr. Dodſworth. Great are the advantages which all branches of our hiſtory, both eccleſiaſtical and civil, will derive from this work; and there is hardly a private family of any conſideration in the kingdom but will here meet with ſomething of its genealogy and pedigree. They are moſt ſcrupulouſly exact in tranſcribing the ancient records; ſo that the bad Latin, barbarous expreſſions, and other deformities of the monkiſh ſtyle, are to be reckoned beauties in them.

Tanner's *Notitia Monaſtica* is a valuable addition to the Monaſticon. It not only contains a ſhort hiſtory of the foundation and chief revolutions of all our religious houſes, but preſents us with a catalogue of ſuch writers (noting the places where we may find them) as will abundantly furniſh us with ſuch farther particulars as we may have occaſion for.

Our two univerſities furniſh ſeveral records worthy to be conſulted by our hiſtorians. There are no leſs than twenty-one volumes relating to the antiquities of the univerſity of Oxford, as charters, orders, ſtatutes, decrees, letters, &c. all in manuſcript. Of thoſe which have been printed, the *Hiſtoriola Oxonenſis* is reckoned the moſt authentic. It is only a ſhort fragment of a ſingle page in octavo, wherein we are told that the Britons began an univerſity at Grekelade, which the Saxons removed to Oxford. Anthony Wood has publiſhed a valuable work under the title of *The Hiſtory and antiquities of the Univerſity of Oxford.*

The *black book* of Cambridge makes as conſiderable a figure there as any of the old ſtatute books can do at Oxford, and it has

has alſo its *hiſtoriola*, which is equal both for matter and authority to the other. The whole volume is a collection of ancient charters and privileges.

The lives of Engliſh writers have been written by John Boſton, John Leland, J. Pitts, A. Wood, and John Tanner, all proper to be conſulted by an Engliſh hiſtorian. For the character of theſe works, I refer to Nicholſon.

The regiſters of eccleſiaſtical courts can be but of little uſe to a writer of civil hiſtory, eſpecially ſince the reformation. It may not, however, be improper to obſerve that regiſters in churches, of marriages, chriſtenings, and burials, were firſt appointed to be kept in the year 1538, juſt upon the diſſolution of the monaſteries. Theſe have been of ſome uſe, and might be of more if care were taken to regiſter other remarkable occurrences relating to the public concerns of the ſeveral pariſhes.

LECTURE XXXII.

Hiſtorians of other Nations. Where Accounts of them are to be looked for. What ſufficient for an Engliſhman. Henault's Hiſtory of France. Uſe of the Univerſal Hiſtory. Thuanus, Guicciardini, Davila, Voltaire. Lives. Voyages and Travels. Suites of Hiſtories.

HAVING treated ſo largely of the hiſtory of our own nation, I ſhall refer you to ſuch writers as Wheare and Rawlinſon for the hiſtorians of other particular countries. Indeed, conſidering the time it will neceſſarily require to get tolerably well acquainted with the hiſtory of our own country (which it is certainly of the moſt importance for us to be acquainted with) it will be quite ſufficient for any perſon, let him have ever ſo much leiſure for hiſtorical purſuits, to take the hiſtories of other countries from compilers of the beſt repute; and even, of theſe, the moſt voluminous may very well be diſpenſed with. Engliſhmen, in general, for inſtance, hardly need to deſire a better acquaintance with the hiſtory of France than the abridgment of Henault will ſupply them with. It were greatly to be wiſhed that the hiſtories of other nations were drawn up in the ſame compendious manner, and with the ſame judgment. We ſhould then have, as we may call it, the marrow of hiſtory diſencumbered of that load of ſuperfluous matter, which makes the reading of hiſtory as it is generally written, extremely tireſome and diſguſting. But if a perſon be poſſeſſed of the Univerſal Hiſtory, he will generally have it in his power to inform

himſelf of as much of the hiſtory of any foreign country or people, as he can have occaſion for, or deſire.

There are ſome particular hiſtories, however, which are ſo excellently written, and the ſubjects of which are ſo generally intereſting, that though little notice be taken of the affairs of our own country in them, no perſon of a liberal education ought to be unacquainted with them. The principal of theſe are, *Thuanus*'s hiſtory of his own times, a work almoſt equal to any production of the claſſical ages. *Guicciardini's* hiſtory of Italy, *Davila's* of the civil wars in France, *Bentivoglio's* of thoſe of the Netherlands, and *Giannone's* hiſtory of Naples. The firſt of theſe was written originally in Latin, and the four laſt in Italian.

No writer whatever can excel Vertot in the happy art of making hiſtory entertaining; but it is generally thought that he has ſacrificed more than he ought to the graces.

Voltaire's general hiſtory conſiſts of little more than obſervations on a courſe of hiſtory. In general they are certainly juſt, and, to a perſon who is previouſly acquainted with the hiſtories to which his obſervations are adapted, nothing can be more entertaining; and to this his lively manner of writing not a little contributes.

But though the title of his work promiſes a compendious view of univerſal hiſtory, and therefore might ſeem to be intended for perſons who are beginning the ſtudy of hiſtory, it would be wholly unintelligible without a previous acquaintance with the ſubject; not to ſay that it requires a good ſtock of general knowledge to guard the mind againſt his prejudices, and the errors into which his writings in general would in many reſpects betray his readers.

Time

Time is continually producing other hiſtorical productions of great excellence, with which, as they gain the attention of gentleman and ſcholars, it will become all readers of hiſtory to make themſelves acquainted. The recommendation of theſe muſt be left to the lecturer of the day.

Beſides more general hiſtories, many *ſingle lives* are ſo well written, and are ſo peculiarly intereſting and inſtructive, that they force an almoſt univerſal attention; as that of Sixtus V. by Leti, that of Guſtavus Adolphus by Hart, and many others. *Voyages and Travels* are alſo works of an hiſtorical nature that are univerſally pleaſing, and of thoſe every year never fails to produce ſeveral that give the moſt valuable information, and convey it in the moſt pleaſing manner. The moſt generally intereſting are the the voyages of the circumnavigators, as that of Lord Anſon, and eſpecially the late ones conducted by Captain Cook.

It is a particular ſatisfaction, after reading a diſtinct and intereſting hiſtory of any particular period, to find another hiſtorian whoſe account ſhall begin about the ſame time that the preceding leaves off. I ſhall mention two courſes of this kind which I have peruſed with much ſatisfaction.

Philip De Comines, a ſerious and excellent hiſtorian, has left ſuch an account of the affairs of Charles the Bold, duke of Burgundy, and of Lewis XI. of France, together with many particulars of Edward IV. of England, as is in the higheſt degree intereſting and improving. Had I the education of a prince, he ſhould get many parts of this hiſtory almoſt by heart. It ends with the famous expedition of Charles VIII. into Italy, and with this expedition the hiſtory of Guicciardini, another very exact and copious hiſtorian begins, and where he ends, viz. a little after the year 1530, the ſtill more celebrated, and more general hiſtory of *Thuanus* commences, ending near the death of Henry

Henry IV. of France; including the civil wars of that country, every thing that is intereſting on the theatre of Europe, and even in the more diſtant parts of the world, for the ſpace of about half a century, comprizing events of the greateſt magnitude and importance.

If a perſon cannot read Latin, or French (in which there is a good tranſlation of Thuanus) he may, after Guicciardini, take up the hiſtory of Charles V. by Robertſon, and with much ſatisfaction read that work, and after it the hiſtories of Philip II. and III. by Dr. Watſon.

A method of making hiſtory particularly intereſting and uſeful, is to make the object of it ſome particular perſon of diſtinguiſhed eminence, whoſe hiſtory has a connexion with almoſt every thing of importance in the age in which he lived; and in writing his hiſtory to omit no tranſaction of any moment. Such a work is the *Memoirs of Petrarch* in three volumes quarto, which I have read ſeveral times with ſingular ſatisfaction. This work gives a diſtinct view of the moſt important affairs of Europe for the ſpace of near ſeventy years, ending A.D. 1374, and including almoſt the whole period of the reſidence of the popes at Avignon. As very little is ſaid in this work of the civil tranſactions of France or England during the reign of Edward III. the defect may be ſupplied from Froiſſart, whoſe manner of writing is very natural and pleaſing, reſembling that of Philip de Comines; and in a ſeries it may with great propriety be read immediately before that work, though there is an interval of near half a century between them, which muſt be ſupplied from other hiſtories.

Immediately after the time of Petrarch was the *grand ſchiſm*, the hiſtory of which is largely written by *L'Enfant*, in his *Hiſtory of the Councils, of Piſa, and Conſtance*; which to perſons

who do not diſlike church hiſtory will be very intereſting; and after this he may read in the ſame author, the hiſtory of the *Council of Baſil*, which will bring him to about the time of Philip de Comines.

If a perſon finds himſelf intereſted in theſe hiſtories of *councils* (which indeed comprize almoſt every tranſaction of importance, civil as well as eccleſiaſtical, in the period of which they treat) he will have equal ſatisfaction and advantage in reading Father *Paul's Hiſtory of the Council of Trent*, a work of extraordinary merit in its kind, eſpecially in the French tranſlation with notes by Courrayer.

It would by highly intereſting to find a ſeries of the lives of great men which might, in ſucceſſion, and without interruption, carry us down the ſtream of time till we come to the period of our own recollection. As Mr. Berington has begun in ſo early a period as the *life of Abelard*, and has written it in a manner that makes it highly intereſting, I cannot help wiſhing that we had other works of a ſimilar conſtruction, to bring us from thence to the age of Petrarch.

Voyages have leſs connexion with each other than hiſtories of tranſactions by land, but thoſe of great conſequence have often ſome relation to each other, and therefore are read with particular ſatisfaction, in ſucceſſion, as in the collection of Harris, and others. The voyages of Captain Cook, which will always make a moſt intereſting period in the hiſtory of navigation, will cloſe this liſt with great advantage. There are few voyages the objects of which were ſo great, and none that were ſo ably and ſucceſsfully conducted; and they have every advantage of illuſtration by means of maps and cuts.

PART

PART V.

OF THE MOST IMPORTANT OBJECTS OF ATTENTION TO A READER OF HISTORY.

LECTURE XXXIII.

Different Objects to different Perſons. An acquaintance with the Hiſtory of our own Country uſeful to Perſons in all Ranks of Life. Peculiar Uſe of Biography. Biographia Britannica, and other Biographical Writings. We ought particularly to attend to the Connexion of Cauſe and Effect in all the Changes of human Affairs. What prejudices to be more particularly guarded againſt. Aſcribing too much, or too little to general, or particular Cauſes; too many, or too few Cauſes. Inconveniences of both.

WE are now advanced to the laſt diviſion of our ſubject, namely, to point out *the moſt proper objects of attention*, either to an hiſtorian, or a reader of hiſtory, that is to direct a perſon to thoſe parts of hiſtory which will moſt tend to form his judgment and direct his conduct; which was one of the *uſes* which hiſtory was ſhown to anſwer in the beginning of this courſe, and the only one with which we have any concern at

preſent. What objects thoſe are that amuſe the imagination, and intereſt the paſſions, are conſidered in another courſe of lectures, viz. that on *philoſophical criticiſm*.

Since there is an infinite variety in the buſineſs of human life, different claſſes of men require different kinds of information, according to their different ſtations in life. It were vain, therefore, to preſcribe one ſcope, or view, to every hiſtorian. He may, if he pleaſes, write for one claſs of men only, and therefore, with great propriety and advantage, introduce that kind of information only which is peculiarly adapted to them; or, writing for the uſe of mankind in general, conſiſting both of the ſpeculative and practical part of them, he may compoſe a hiſtory of ſuch materials as promiſe to be of the moſt general uſe; containing maxims and examples both for the direction of the more active part of mankind, and alſo the moſt rational entertainment for the ſcholar and the gentleman.

With reſpect to a reader of hiſtory, it is obvious to remark, in the firſt place, as has been mentioned more than once already, that every perſon will beſt find his account in ſtudying the hiſtory of his own country, or profeſſion, and that both in a ſpeculative and practical view.

If a perſon be called to bear an active part in the tranſactions of his country, either by preſiding in its councils, directing its force, or performing any thing which will probably enter into the hiſtory of his country; as his particular conduct is only *a part*, and *a continuation*, of a ſeries of councils, and a train of exploits, which began before he was born, all the parts of which are ſtrictly connected in an infinite variety of ways, no ſucceeding part, ſuch as he is acting, can be well conducted without a regard to the preceding. For inſtance, how ill-qualified would a general be to conduct a future war againſt

France who was unacquainted with the conduct of the laſt war; when every new expedition and ſtratagem would neceſſarily have ſome kind of reference to, or be guided by, a former expedition or ſtratagem. But the laſt war could not be thoroughly underſtood without ſome knowledge of thoſe preceding it. In the ſame manner we may argue the neceſſity of, at leaſt, a general knowledge of the whole of the Engliſh hiſtory to every Engliſh commander.

But the knowledge of hiſtory is ſtill more neceſſary to a miniſter of ſtate. For every treaty that is made with any nation, and every meaſure that is taken with reſpect to it, muſt neceſſarily be adapted to the preceding tranſactions of every kind with that nation.

An intimate acquaintance with the hiſtory of our country is no leſs neceſſary to every perſon who is concerned in the enacting or in the adminiſtration of our *laws*. The conduct of a divine too, whether of the eſtabliſhment, or a non-conformiſt, ſhould, in many particulars, be directed by a knowledge of the hiſtory of our country, both eccleſiaſtical and civil; and the like is neceſſary, or uſeful, in a greater or leſs degree, to every inhabitant of the country. Beſides, what more inviting ſubject of contemplation can a recluſe perſon make choice of, than to trace the revolutions in church and ſtate which his own country has undergone, to enter into the cauſes of them, and ſee the manner of their operation.

If a perſon read hiſtory for real uſe, and the direction of his conduct in his own profeſſion, *biography* will anſwer his purpoſe more effectually than general hiſtory. Lives have been publiſhed of particular perſons of every ſtation and profeſſion, princes, generals, ſtateſmen, divines, philoſophers, and even artiſts of every kind, which are of excellent uſe to inſpire a

ſpirit

ſpirit of emulation in perſons of the ſame ſtation and profeſſion. Thoſe in the *Biographia Britannica* are excellently adapted to this purpoſe, but the *General Biographical Dictionary*, though exceedingly uſeful, will not completely anſwer this end. The accounts it contains of the perſons whoſe lives are introduced into it are too conciſe. And we cannot become ſufficiently intereſted in any character, ſo as to have our emulation and other generous paſſions excited by it, unleſs we have an opportunity of ſeeing it in a variety of lights, and thereby forming a pretty particular and intimate acquaintance with it.

A ſhort deſcription in a few words (ſuch as is given of great men in many general hiſtories) is not ſufficient to give a clear idea of a character. It muſt be dwelt upon a conſiderable time before it can affect the imagination, and intereſt the paſſions. Indeed, this effect cannot be produced by any general and abſtract deſcription whatever. Thoſe characters only affect the imagination, and intereſt the paſſions, which we form to ourſelves from the repreſentation of a detail of actions, and a courſe of conduct of ſome extent.

It is almoſt needleſs to obſerve (though it be of the utmoſt importance to attend to it) that in propoſing to ourſelves the imitation of any perſon or action, we ſhould take care that the circumſtances of the two caſes be perfectly alike. Otherwiſe a ſimilar conduct will have very different conſequences. Yet the circumſtances of human conduct are ſo various, and changes are ſo imperceptible in a courſe of time, that men of the greateſt ſagacity are often deceived by ſimilar appearances, and betrayed by them into great abſurdities in their conduct. Thus pope Paul V. in the year 1606, thought to imitate Gregory VII. in laying the whole ſtate of Venice under an interdict.

But

But time had greatly leſſened the terror of papal menaces. The Venetians prohibited the reading of the mandate.

Secondly, if we read hiſtory like philoſophers, we muſt principally attend to the connexion of *cauſe and effect*, in all the great changes of human affairs. We ought never to be ſatisfied with barely knowing an event, but endeavour to trace all the circumſtances in the ſituation of things which contributed either to produce, or facilitate; to haſten, or to retard it, and clearly ſee the manner of their operation; by which we ſhall be better able to form a judgment of the ſtate of political affairs in future time, and take our meaſures with greater wiſdom, and a more reaſonable proſpect of ſucceſs.

Thus a perſon who confines himſelf ſtrictly to natural hiſtory contents himſelf with giving a faithful account of the appearances of nature; but a philoſopher employs himſelf in obſerving the analogies of theſe appearances, in order to diſcover the general laws of nature, and produce future appearances from known preceding circumſtances.

In this caſe alſo the political philoſopher has the ſame prejudices to guard againſt that philoſophers in general have; particularly the two extremes of ſimplicity and refinement. Some, not conſidering the vaſt variety there is in the ſprings of human conduct, are never induced to go beyond one obvious reaſon of a great event. Others again aſſign ſo many reaſons for the riſe and fall of ſtates, that we are ſo far from wondering that they roſe ſo early, or fell ſo ſoon as they did, that we cannot help being ſurpriſed that they roſe no earlier, higher, or faſter, and that they fell no lower, or ſooner, than they did. When hiſtorians, like Mr. Hume, aſſign a great number of reaſons for every political meaſure, there is this advantage in it, that though it be highly improbable that all of them ſhould have

have been actually thought of at the time, yet, of ſo many, ſome would probably have been attended to, and have had real weight with the perſons concerned; and the reader in this caſe may chuſe what reaſons he thinks did moſt probably contribute to bring about the event. This method is certainly fairer and better then pronouncing dogmatically that this or the other circumſtance was the true cauſe of the event, when it could not have produced it ſingly, though its operation was neceſſary; or when it was the laſt in operation of a train which gave birth to the event, and in reſpect of which it was no more than a ſecondary cauſe, and therefore not ſo deſerving of notice as the primary cauſe.

I ſhall endeavour to make myſelf underſtood by a few examples of the principal of theſe caſes. Monteſquieu is one of the moſt excellent of all political writers, but his lively manner of expreſſion is very apt to lead his readers into miſtakes, if they do not make uſe of ſome parts of his works to explain others. Thus it is too peremptory to ſay, as he does, that the blood of Lucretia put an end to kingly power at Rome; that the debtor appearing covered with wounds made a change in the form of the republic; that the ſight of Virginia put an end to the power of the Decemvirs, and that the ſight of the robe and body of Cæſar enſlaved Rome. This is certainly aſcribing too much to *ſpectacles*, without telling us what was the reaſon why ſuch ſpectacles, in thoſe particular circumſtances, had ſo much influence. For, as he himſelf excellently obſerves, if a particular event, as the loſs of a battle, be the ruin of a ſtate, there muſt have been a more general reaſon, why the loſs of a battle would ruin it. The ſame remark may be applied here.

Bolingbroke excellently ſhows, in a familiar and ſtriking inſtance, that we muſt endeavour to look farther than the neareſt cauſe in politics. The miſery of England, he ſays, under James II. was owing to his bigotry, that to the exile of the royal family, that to the uſurpation of Cromwell, that to the civil wars, and that to oppreſſion.

Writers who, with ſo poſitive an air, affect to aſcribe the greateſt events to ſingle cauſes are very apt to ſeem to contradict themſelves when, in ſeparate parts of their works, they have occaſion to ſpeak of two or more cauſes which were equally neceſſary to the event. Thus Monteſquieu ſays in one place, that whatever Charles II. of England meant, certain it is that his conduct eſtabliſhed the ſuperiority of France in Europe; in another place, that a numerous nobility without eſtates has been a great cauſe of the grandeur and power of France. But in other places he very juſtly aſſigns other reaſons for the amazing increaſe of the French power. And though in the paſſage quoted above, he ſeems to aſcribe too much to mere *ſpectacles*, in the revolutions of the Roman ſtate; yet in his treatiſe on the riſe and fall of the empire, he gives a moſt judicious detail of many cauſes which concurred to produce thoſe events. Indeed, many circumſtances are really neceſſary to almoſt every event; and, as was obſerved in a former part of this courſe, it is very uſeful to reflect on what minute incidents the greateſt events do often abſolutely depend, notwithſtanding the acknowledged influence of general cauſes. I ſhall juſt add a few more examples of this kind here to thoſe mentioned in another view before.

Mr. Hume obſerves that pope Clement would probably have conſented to the divorce of Henry VIII. and conſequently that the reformation would have been prevented from taking place

in England, at leaſt at that time, and in that manner, if a perſon who carried a particular letter from Henry to the pope had not been detained by an unforeſeen accident beyond the day appointed. Voltaire ſomewhere ſays, that a ſtone thrown a little harder, in a battle in which Mahomet was ſtunned with a blow from one, would have given a different turn to the hiſtory of all the eaſt; and that a pair of gloves of a particular faſhion, which the ducheſs of Marlborough refuſed queen Ann, and a glaſs of water which, by an affected miſtake, ſhe let fall in her preſence upon lady Maſham's gown, changed the face of affairs in Europe. And it is certain, notwithſtanding all the ſolid reaſons which are given for the riſe of the French, and the declenſion of the Spaniſh power after the diſcovery of America, that had Henry IV. Richlieu, and Lewis XIV. been Spaniards, and Philip II. and his ſucceſſors been French, the hiſtory of thoſe two nations, as Mr. Hume ſays, would have been entirely reverſed.

Voltaire, juſtly ridiculing the manner in which ſome politicians reaſon after events, ſays, that "if Germany in the time "ſucceeding Charles V. had fallen to decay; had the Turks "invaded one part of it; and had the other called in foreign "maſters, politicians would not have failed to declare, that "Germany, already torn in pieces by inteſtine diviſions, could "not have ſubſiſted any longer; and would have demonſtrated "from the peculiar form of its government, that the great "number of its princes, and a plurality of religions, had "neceſſarily prepared the way for its ruin and inevitable ſlavery. "And, indeed," he adds, "as far as human foreſight could "reach, the cauſes of the decline of the Roman empire were "not ſo obvious."

An

An opinion of the profound policy of particular perſons is often the occaſion of great miſtakes with reſpect to the cauſes of important events. How many extravagant things are aſcribed to the intelligence and ſchemes of Cromwell; and how abſurd is the opinion which was common in France, that Richlieu was the only perſon who cauſed Guſtavus the Great to turn his arms againſt Germany.

It is very poſſible that the affairs of empires are in fact conducted with no deeper policy, or greater reach of thought than mankind in general exert in the management of their own private affairs; only the things themſelves are more important, and therefore make a greater figure in the eye of the world. Voltaire well obſerves that it is not a ſuperior ſhare of penetration that makes ſtateſmen. All men that have any tolerable degree of underſtanding can nearly diſcern what is their intereſt. A common citizen of Amſterdam or Bern, he ſays, knows as much on this head as Sejanus, Ximines, Buckingham, Richlieu, or Mazarine. This is certain, that all the capital events in this world, which have contributed to bring about a better ſtate of things in general, all the ſituations in human affairs favourable to liberty, virtue, and happineſs, were brought about in a manner independent of the policy, the deſigns, or even the wiſhes, of all human beings, and muſt be aſcribed wholly to the good providence of God, wiſely over-ruling the paſſions and powers of men to his own benevolent purpoſes.

LECTURE XXXIV.

General Obſervations on political Meaſures. When perſonal Conſiderations may be ſuppoſed to influence public Meaſures, and when not. Difference between the true, and the declared Motives to Tranſactions, Wars, &c. All juſt reaſoning on the Connexion of Cauſe and Effect capable of being reduced to Practice. Periods of Hiſtory more particularly worthy of Attention. The Connexion of Sacred and Prophane Hiſtory. The Succeſſion of the four Monarchies. Hiſtory of the Grecian Commonwealths, why intereſting, and what to be learned from it.

NOTWITHSTANDING the propriety of aſſigning political reaſons for political meaſures, there is no doubt but that where they depend upon one perſon, or a few, perſonal conſiderations enter very much into them. Princes, though politicians, are ſtill *men*. In abſolute monarchies, and particularly in Eaſtern countries, almoſt every great event is aſcribed by the moſt judicious hiſtorians to the effects of private paſſions; and queen Elizabeth, though, no doubt, ſhe had political reaſons for the unnatural part ſhe acted towards Mary queen of Scots, is not without reaſon thought to have been determined to it, in ſome meaſure, by her envy of her beauty and accompliſhments.

It is a good general rule, that whatever depends upon a few perſons may often be aſcribed to unknown cauſes, but that what depends upon a great number is beſt accounted for by determinate

determinate and known cauſes. Individuals may eſcape the influence of general paſſions, but multitudes are actuated by groſs and ſenſible motives. Beſides, multitudes are not aſhamed of being governed by a regard to the intereſt of the whole body; whereas ſuch motives may influence the conduct of particular perſons, as they will not avow, and which there are no means of diſcovering.

We find in Polybius that in his time the declared reaſons of the conduct of princes and ſtates were different from the true motives of their conduct. But even this author could have no conception, from any thing he had ſeen, of the great refinement of modern politics in this reſpect. To ſee the ſpirit of benevolence, tenderneſs, equity and honour, that appears in all our declarations of war, and the manifeſto's which are publiſhed upon entering an enemy's country, a common reader would think that the princes of Europe were more than men; but then he would be ſurpriſed that when all princes entertained thoſe excellent pacific ſentiments, they ſhould be obliged to have recourſe to ſanguinary methods in order to terminate their differences. He would think that when all parties concerned were ſo happily diſpoſed, they would bear every thing from one another rather than go to war.

This attention to the connexion of *cauſe and effect* ought by no means to be confined to philoſophers. It is the intereſt of the active ſtateſmen cloſely to ſtudy it. For, as Bolingbroke obſerves, the great benefit we ought to derive from the ſtudy of hiſtory cannot be reaped, unleſs we accuſtom ourſelves to compare the conduct of different governments, and to obſerve the methods they did purſue, and the meaſures they might have purſued; with the actual conſequences that followed the one; and the probable or poſſible conſequences of the other.

Beſides

Beſides, in politics, as in every other branch of ſtudy, all juſt reaſoning on the connexion of cauſe and effect is capable of being reduced to practice. A theory, or a general rule of conduct, can only be derived from the obſervation of a train of cauſes and effects in real life; and all acting is at random without regard to ſome theory. Indeed, it is impoſſible to act at all without ſome *view*, and that view directed by ſome *hypotheſis*, to which the event is expected to correſpond. Is it not then better to form to ourſelves the beſt hypotheſis about human actions that we can collect from reading and obſervation, than to act abſolutely at random; and is it not better, and ſafer, to follow a more perfect theory, than a more imperfect one?

Thirdly, there are certain periods in the hiſtory of *power*, of *knowledge*, and of *commerce*, which are more deſerving of a cloſe attention than others, which I ſhall endeavour to point out to you.

The firſt thing deſerving in an eſpecial manner the notice of a divine, is *the connexion of ſacred and profane hiſtory*, in the ſucceſſion of the four great monarchies, the Babylonian, Perſian, Grecian, and Roman; in order to ſee the accompliſhment of the prophecies of Daniel and John. The whole of this ſubject is treated very largely, and in a judicious manner by Prideaux, in his excellent treatiſe on this ſubject. Rollin, and Boſſuet, have alſo taken particular notice of it.

Paſſing by eccleſiaſtical hiſtory, unleſs where it is particularly connected with civil, the next period worthy of our notice is that which contains the hiſtory of the *Grecian commonwealths*; every ſtage of which we have ſo fine an opportunity of tracing in the admirable Grecian hiſtorians, who adorned that period; by means of which the hiſtory of ſo inconſiderable a people, with reſpect to numbers, and extent of territory, has attracted

the attention of all civilized nations and ages, and will be the ſubject of diſcourſe and of writing to the end of the world, or ſo long as a taſte for knowledge, and a ſpirit of liberty and magnanimity, ſhall ſubſiſt. Here we have an opportunity of obſerving with the greateſt clearneſs, and with every variety of circumſtance, all the advantages and diſadvantages of a popular government, both in their ſtruggles for common liberty with a foreign power, and in their conteſts for ſuperiority among themſelves.

This period is the more worthy of our notice on account of the great reſemblance it bears, though in miniature, to the preſent ſtate of Europe. The power both of the Grecian and European ſtates was greatly increaſed in conſequence of mutual emulation, and domeſtic wars; but whereas theirs were ſo obſtinate as greatly to weaken one another, and give a foreign power an opportunity to cruſh them all; Europe has hitherto only been exerciſed to the uſe of arms, and the power of the whole has been increaſed, by the wars which the ſeveral ſtates of it have maintained with one another. The wars between the Athenians and Lacedemonians, particularly the great Peloponneſian war, which is the ſubject of Thucydides's hiſtory, afford an excellent leſſon to the Engliſh in their wars with the French, exhibiting in the cleareſt light all the advantages of a maritime force, and the riſk that is run by a popular government (or a government inclining to that form) from aiming at extenſive conqueſts.

LECT.

LECTURE XXXV.

The Riſe and Declenſion of the Roman Empire. What Inſtruction it affords. The Settlement of the Northern Nations in the Diſmembered Provinces of the Roman Empire, with their orignal Laws and Cuſtoms, as the Foundation of the preſent European Governments. What Circumſtances contributed to render the Hiſtory of Europe from the Cloſe of the fifteenth Century much more intereſting, and more deſerving of Attention, than before. The Time when the Hiſtory of Spain begins to be intereſting to the reſt of Europe. The ſame with Reſpect to France. The Northern Crowns. Ruſſia, Pruſſia. Into what Parts the whole Period, from the Cloſe of the fifteenth Century to the preſent Times, may be divided. What are the moſt ſtriking Objects of Attention in other Parts of the World, in the Interval between the Irruption of the Northern Barbarians and the Cloſe of the fifteenth Century. The Hiſtory of Aſia; and of Germany.

THE riſe and declenſion of the *Roman Empire* is a vaſt and worthy object of contemplation. For great power riſing from low beginnings, for extent of empire, and the duration of it, it will probably be always the greateſt object that univerſal hiſtory can exhibit. Never can we ſee more clearly demonſtrated the advantages which accrue to a people from temperance, valour, diſcipline, juſtice, and emulation, in the earlier part of their hiſtory; and never, on the theatre of this world, did luxury, a ſpirit of faction, violence, and lawleſs power,

power, reign more uncontrouled then when the empire was fully eſtabliſhed.

No hiſtory furniſhes ſo ſtriking an example how incompatible extenſive empire is with political liberty, or diſplays in a more conſpicuous light the wiſdom of Divine Providence, in appointing that that form of government which is, in a manner, neceſſary for extenſive dominion, ſhould be the happieſt for the ſubjects of it. As to the latter part of the Roman hiſtory, were it not for the remains of the Grecian arts and ſciences (which never entirely quitted Conſtantinople, till the final diſſolution of the empire) no hiſtory can exhibit a more diſagreeable ſpectacle, though it is not an uſeleſs one. For never were revolutions, attended with acts of the baſeſt treachery, and the moſt ſtudied cruelty more frequent; nor did any nation ever ſink lower into the moſt deſpicable ſuperſtition.

A leſs grand object of contemplation indeed, but a more uſeful and intereſting one to the northern inhabitants of Europe, is the invaſion of the Roman empire by the Goths, Vandals, Huns, Franks, and other northern nations, and their ſettlement in thoſe parts of it in which they laid the foundations of the preſent European monarchies, with their laws and cuſtoms antecedent to their migrations. In them will be found the ſtamina of the conſtitutions of the ſeveral European governments, and of the ſeveral ſyſtems of laws now in force. From that period every kingdom held on in a regular, but ſeparate progreſs, of internal changes and revolutions, till about the end of the fifteenth century, when the power of the greater barons (derived from the feudal inſtitutions) was broken in different manners, and with different conſequences, in ſeveral of the principal ſtates of Europe.

From this time, domeſtic tranquility being in a good meaſure ſecured, and power being lodged in fewer hands, the ambition of princes began to awake, and conſequently ſyſtems of politics began to extend themſelves, ſo that the moſt diſtant connexions of kingdoms and nations took place. The balance of power was then more attended to, and nothing which could throw the leaſt weight into the ſcale, though ſituated in the remoteſt part of Europe, or even in ſtill more diſtant parts of the world, was overlooked.

There was likewiſe a concurrence of a variety of other circumſtances which contributed to render this part of hiſtory particularly illuſtrious, and more diſtinguiſhable, as *a period*, than any other in the whole courſe of hiſtory; according to the ideas of Bolingbroke, who defines a period in hiſtory to be "the commencement of a new ſituation, new intereſts, new "maxims, and new manners."

About this time the invention of gun-powder made an entire, but gradual, revolution in the whole ſyſtem of war; which made it more complex as a ſcience than it had ever been before; in compariſon of which former battles had been little more than the fighting of wild beaſts, in which force is of more conſequence than ſkill. Commerce became vaſtly more extenſive; the naval power of Europe greatly increaſed, in conſequence of the diſcovery of a paſſage round the Cape of Good Hope by the Portugueſe, and of America by the Spaniards, with the planting of European colonies in thoſe new diſcovered worlds. About this time alſo happened the taking of Conſtantinople by the Turks, which was attended with the flight of ſeveral men of learning into Italy, who promoted the revival of letters in Europe: an event which contributed greatly to break the prodigious power of the pope, and to haſten the reformation. Now alſo manufactures

manufactures began to be multiplied, the arts of life were brought to a greater degree of perfection, luxury was beyond conception increaſed; and at this time politeneſs and humanity are improved to ſuch a degree as diſtinguiſhes the preſent race of Europeans from their anceſtors, almoſt as much as men in general are diſtinguiſhed from brute beaſts. I may add, that, in conſequence of theſe improvements, happineſs is vaſtly increaſed, and this part of the world is now a paradiſe in compariſon with what it was.

Every circumſtance which contributed to bring about this remarkable and happy change certainly deſerves the attention of a politician, a philoſopher, and a man. For the events of this period are of more uſe than any thing that the whole field of hiſtory furniſhes, to account for *preſent appearances*, which is naturally the firſt thing which excites our curioſity, and engages our ſpeculation. *Felix qui potuit rerum cognoſcere cauſas.*

I ſhall juſt mention the principal of thoſe ſtates which have ſince appeared the moſt formidable to the liberties of Europe. Spain, which firſt roſe to ſo dangerous a height, made no figure till the union of the two crowns of Caſtile and Leon, about the time above-mentioned; when the diſcovery of America, the politics of Ferdinand, and Charles V. and the conqueſt of Portugal, advanced that nation to be by far the moſt conſiderable power in Europe; but which the abſurd politics of Philip II. and the weakneſs of his ſucceſſors, reduced to its former inſignificance.

France had no opportunity of ſhewing itſelf to the reſt of Europe before the reign of Lewis XI. Till that time, its princes were wholly employed either in recovering their diſmembered country from the Engliſh, or in their ſtruggles with their own nobles.

Alſo the ſuperior power and politics of Spain prevented the French from appearing with that prodigious luſtre with which they were diſtinguiſhed in the reign of Lewis XIV. for which however they were prepared by their expeditions into Italy, by their conteſts with Germany, and by their own civil wars. Since the reign of Lewis XIV. the affairs of France have been very ſenſibly upon the decline.

The hiſtory of the northern crowns likewiſe deſerves little attention till about the ſame period. Before Frederic I. was elected to the crown of Denmark, and that wonderful revolution which Guſtavus I. brought about in Sweden, the hiſtory of thoſe crowns is nothing more than a confuſed rhapſody of events, in which the reſt of Europe had little concern.

Ruſſia was hardly ſo much as known to the reſt of Europe till the important reign of Peter the Great; and Pruſſia, which is now one of the firſt powers in Europe, had no being, as we may ſay, till within the memory of man.

The whole of this period Bolingbroke ſays may be commodiouſly divided into three parts, forming three leſſer periods in politics; the firſt from the fifteenth to the ſixteenth century, the ſecond from thence to the Pyrenean treaty, and the third from thence to his own times. The ambition of Charles V. and the bigotry of Philip II. he ſays, were the object of the firſt; the ambition of Ferdinand II. and III. the object of the ſecond; and the oppoſition to the growing power of France was the object of the third. For by the Pyrenean treaty not only was the ſuperiority of the houſe of Bourbon over the houſe of Auſtria completed and confirmed, but the great deſign of uniting the Spaniſh and French monarchies under the former was laid.

During

During all the period which intervened between Charlemagne (in whoſe time the European ſtates firſt began to ſettle into ſome tolerable form, after the confuſion attending the migrations of the northern nations) and the period above-mentioned, namely, about the end of the fifteenth century, Germany (next to the exorbitant power of the popes in temporal as well as eccleſiaſtical affairs) would make the greateſt figure in the eye of a perſon unconnected with any particular country of Europe. But indeed Europe itſelf during all that period would ſcarce attract the notice of a ſpectator of the affairs of men, who had no European connexions. For ſeveral centuries before and after the reign of Charlemagne, Aſia exhibited the moſt inviting ſpectacle, namely, from the riſe of the Saracens in the ſeventh century, to the eſtabliſhment of the Turkiſh empire by the taking of Conſtantinople. For rapid and extenſive conqueſts, following cloſe upon one another, nothing in hiſtory can be compared to the ſucceſſive victories of the Saracens, under their firſt Caliphs, thoſe of the Tartars under Jenghis Khan and Timur Bek, commonly called Tamerlane, and of the Turks till they were checked by the riſe of the European powers in the circumſtances above-mentioned.

LECTURE XXXVI.

The moſt remarkable Periods in the Engliſh Hiſtory. When the Hiſtory of Scotland begins to be intereſting. The moſt intereſting Periods in the Hiſtory of Literature and the Arts, from the earlieſt Antiquity to the preſent Time.

THE earlier periods in the *Engliſh hiſtory* are the conqueſt of the iſland by the Romans, our ſubjection to the Saxons, the diſſolution of the heptarchy, the reign of Alfred, and the Norman conqueſt, by which the feudal tenures were eſtabliſhed, and the whole ſyſtem of the feudal law compleated. Thence our attention is drawn to the gradual declenſion of that ſyſtem till the reign of Henry VII. and eſpecially the more effectual blow that was given to the tottering remains of it in that and the following reigns, attended with the extenſion of our commerce, the increaſe of our naval force, and the growing power of the commons, who availed themſelves of every alteration in the laws and conſtitution of the country. Thence we are led to view the ineffectual oppoſition which our imprudent princes of the family of Stewart made to the power of the people, till it ended in a temporary diſſolution of the monarchy, and abſolute anarchy and confuſion. Monarchy, however, was reſtored again with Charles II. in whoſe reign almoſt all the remains of the feudal ſyſtem, except the forms of law, were aboliſhed by act of parliament.

But the moſt important period in our hiſtory is that of the revolution under King William. Then it was that our conſtitution, after many fluctuations, and frequent ſtruggles for power by the different members of it (ſeveral of them attended with vaſt effuſion of blood) was finally ſettled. A revolution ſo remarkable, and attended with ſuch happy conſequences, has perhaps no parallel in the hiſtory of the world. This it was, as Mr. Hume ſays, that cut off all pretenſions to power founded on hereditary right; when a prince was choſen who received the crown on expreſs conditions, and found his authority eſtabliſhed on the ſame bottom with the privileges of the people; ſo that there have been no differences between our kings and parliament ſince. Indeed all the danger we have reaſon to apprehend ſince that period ſeems to be from the aid which the parliament itſelf may be induced, by indirect methods, to give the Court, to encroach upon the liberties of the people.

The hiſtory of Scotland is hardly worth the notice of an Engliſhman till the reign of queen Elizabeth, the period which is excellently treated by Dr. Robertſon.

The remarkable periods in the hiſtory of the *arts and ſciences* are firſt that of Greece, which was in its greateſt glory about the time of Alexander the Great. His age excelled in architecture, ſculpture, poetry, eloquence, and metaphyſical philoſophy. It alſo produced a great many excellent writers, whoſe works have greatly contributed to civilize and poliſh all ages and nations, which ever after arrived at any degree of refinement.

When the Grecian orators began to fail, the arts and ſciences, conducted by the Grecian maſters, took up their reſidence for a ſhort ſpace of time at Rome, namely, about the end of the commonwealth, and till a little after the reign of Auguſtus; though

though architecture and ſtatuary were in their greateſt perfection during the reign of Trojan. The Roman arts and ſciences were the ſame that had flouriſhed in Greece, to which they retired again after the expiration of the Auguſtan age; and the remains of this kind of learning at length took up their reſidence at Conſtantinople. A few learned men being obliged to fly from this city when it was taken by the Turks, took refuge in Italy, about the middle of the fourteenth century, where they were received, protected, and encouraged by the houſe of Medici, and contributed greatly to revive a taſte for the learning and ſciences they brought with them in the weſtern parts of Europe.

While the ſmall remains of the arts and ſciences were confined within the walls of Conſtantinople, all the reſt of Europe was involved in the moſt deplorable ignorance and barbarity; except that faint glimmerings of learning were ſtill to be found in the cloiſters of the monks, the only ſafe aſylum it had in thoſe ages of violence and confuſion.

But while ſo little attention was given to matters of ſcience in Europe, their former ſeat, they were cultivated with the greateſt aſſiduity and conſiderable ſucceſs where they were leaſt expected, namely, by the ſucceſſors of the eaſtern conquerors above-mentioned. The Saracens, by their conqueſt of Egypt, and ſeveral territories of the Greek empire in Aſia, became at length enamoured of their ſciences, and tranſlated almoſt all their valuable writings, particularly the works of Ariſtotle, into their own language.

The later Greeks had likewiſe many alchemical writers, from whom the Saracens acquired a taſte for that ſtudy, and natural philoſophy. From the people of India it is ſuppoſed they borrowed the nine digits in arithmetic. However they applied

applied diligently to the mathematical ſciences, and aſtronomy. They compoſed tables for the purpoſe of calculation, and the rudiments of algebra were their own invention. They alſo made conſiderable proficiency in medicine, and anatomy; and their poets and hiſtorians were numerous and excellent in their kinds.

Theſe ſciences, as has been the fate of ſcience almoſt univerſally, were both extended with their conqueſts, and adopted by their conquerors. The Tartars, a barbarous and untractable people, adopted both their religion and their learning, in which, ſo long as their empire continued, they diſtinguiſhed themſelves, though not ſo much as the people whom they had ſubdued, and who had inſtructed them.

But what is moſt memorable in the learning of the Saracens is, that it was brought by them (by the way of Spain) into Chriſtendom, and excited a thirſt for knowledge, and particularly a conſiderable application to medicine, chymiſtry, and natural philoſophy, long before the Greek fugitives from Conſtantinople promoted a taſte for eloquence and the belles lettres.

The Saracens occaſioned the revival of the Ariſtotelian philoſophy in Europe, which no perſon had the courage to controvert before Deſcartes, who died about the time that Newton was born. In his time, however, the foundations of the true philoſophy were laid by Lord Bacon, the work was proſecuted with much aſſiduity by Boyle, and carried by Newton to a great degree of perfection.

The chief reaſon why knowledge is prodigiouſly more diffuſed among all ranks of men in the preſent age, as well as carried to a much greater height than it ever was in any former, is owing to the invention of *printing*, which firſt appeared in Germany about the year 1450, a little before the taking of Conſtantinople by the Turks. This art multiplies books to a

degree of which the ancients could have formed no idea, and at very little expence; whereas, in former ages, learning was neceſſarily confined to the wealthy. This circumſtance accounts for the greater proportion of authors among the higher ranks of life among the ancients than among the moderns; but then it was a much greater chance with them than with us, that a genius for learning might ariſe who would never have it in his power to come at the neceſſary materials for improvement in ſcience.

The firſt dawning of a polite taſte in compoſition appeared in Provence, about the time of the cruſades, which expeditions furniſhed a fine ſubject for poetry. From Provence it paſſed into Italy, where it flouriſhed under the protection of the Italian princes and ſtates, more eſpecially by the Florentines, an induſtrious, rich, enterprizing, and free people, a conſiderable time before the taking of Conſtantinople, as is evident from the hiſtory and writings of Petrarch. Together with the *belles lettres*, the Italians excelled in muſic, painting, and architecture. From them theſe arts and ſciences paſſed into France. This nation, however, was much behind the Engliſh in poetry and the belles lettres in the age of Shakeſpeare and Milton, but far outſtripped us in the reign of Lewis XIV. They were however far behind us in the more manly ſtudies of the mathematics and philoſophy. Of the preſent times I ſay nothing. The generous emulation by which we are actuated can only produce good effects.

It is needleſs, indeed, to ſay any thing more of the progreſs which the arts and ſciences have made in the laſt age, when I propoſe no more, in this place, than juſt to point out the greater periods in which particular attention hath been paid to them. It may not be improper, however, before I cloſe this ſubject juſt to mention the Chineſe; who from the earlieſt antiquity attained

to a mediocrity in almoſt all the ſciences, beyond which they ſeem incapable of advancing. Being ſo remote from us, they contributed nothing to enlighten theſe parts of the world, and their attachment to their own claſſical books, cuſtoms, and the honour of their own nation is ſo great, that it is not probable they will ever receive much advantage from European diſcoveries.

LECTURE XXXVII.

The moſt important Periods in the Hiſtory of Manufactures and Commerce pointed out.

IF we would mark the ſeveral periods, and countries, in which manufactures and commerce have flouriſhed, we muſt follow the courſe of the *arts*, which commerce has always accompanied, and in a great meaſure that of *power*, which ſeldom fails to attend it; and the progreſs of all the three has been from eaſt to weſt, beginning near the land of Paleſtine.

The firſt people who were induced by their ſituation to apply to arts and commerce were thoſe who inhabited the coaſts of the Red Sea and the Arabic Gulph, ſo convenient for tranſporting goods from the Indies; though it is moſt probable that goods were firſt carried by land on camels. Theſe people were the Arabians or Iſhmaelites, and eſpecially the Edomites. Their trade was chiefly with Egypt, which by that means grew rich and populous.

Upon the conqueſt of Idumea by David, the ſcattered remains of that induſtrious people fled to the coaſts of the Mediterranean ſea, where, as Sir Iſaac Newton conjectures, they took Sidon, the inhabitants of which built Tyre, which being found more commodiouſly ſituated for traffic, preſently became more famous than its mother country. The Tyrians finding an immenſe vent for their commodities along all the coaſts of the Mediterranean ſea, among people who had juſt begun to be civilized (and whom their intercourſe with them, more than any other circumſtance, contributed to civilize) grew rich, populous and powerful to an incredible degree; and notwithſtanding they were ſubdued by Nebuchadnezzar they were only driven from the continent. For they built a city equal, or ſuperior, to the former on an iſland oppoſite to it, where they continued their commerce with the ſame advantages, till they were finally ſubdued by Alexander the Great.

Before this fatal event, the Tyrians had founded many colonies on the coaſts of Europe and Africa, particularly Carthage, which by the intimate connexion it always kept up with its mother country, and the free acceſs the Carthaginians had to the remoter parts of Europe, grew to a far greater heighth of opulence and power than commerce had ever advanced any nation before them.

The taking of Tyre removed the ſeat of the ſame commerce to Alexandria, where the Ptolemys were great encouragers of commerce, and found their advantage in it. For the produce of the cuſtoms of Alexandria is ſaid to have been two millions of our money annually. Alexandria maintained the ſame rank in point of trade and commerce during the earlier period of the Roman empire, but yielded to Conſtantinople on the removal

of

of the ſeat of government to that place. At Conſtantinople the riches acquired by commerce long preſerved the remains of that power which had a very different origin.

During the ravages committed by the northern barbarians in their invaſion of the Roman empire, two rival ſtates, Venice and Genoa, roſe from the moſt inconſiderable beginnings, and by their commerce with Conſtantinople and Alexandria on the one hand, and the weſtern ſtates of Europe on the other, arrived at immenſe riches and power; ſo as to be a match for the Turks when they had put an end to the Conſtantinopolitan empire.

Within this period, viz. in the thirteenth century, the buſineſs of exchange and banking was begun by the Lombards and Jews; an invention of infinite advantage to the trading part of the world, which was now become very extenſive. For before this time, commerce had made a conſiderable progreſs weſtwards, and many towns in Germany, England, the low countries, and France, called the Hanſe towns, entered into a league for carrying on a very extenſive commerce, which they did with vaſt advantage, till their haughtineſs and warlike enterprizes gave umbrage to the powers of Europe, and engaged them to put an end to their confederacy.

Venice and Genoa were ruined in part by their mutual jealouſy and wars; but what diverted almoſt the whole courſe of trade out of its former channel, and which makes the moſt remarkable revolution in the whole hiſtory of commerce, was the diſcovery of a paſſage to the Eaſt Indies round the cape of Good Hope by the Portugueſe, and of America by the Spaniards. Theſe diſcoveries they were enabled to make by means of the *compaſs*, which then firſt began to be applied to navigation; though that property of the loadſtone, on which the uſe of it depends, had been known a conſiderable time before.

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For about a century and a half theſe were the only conſiderable naval powers in the world; but the arrogance and ambition of the Spaniards after the conqueſt of Portugal, excited the hatred and induſtry of the Dutch and Engliſh. The former firſt became a free, then a commercial, and then, in a remarkably ſhort ſpace of time, a rich and potent ſtate, and much ſuperior to their former maſters. The Engliſh in the reign of Elizabeth began to follow their footſteps, and by a ſteady perſeverance, and the help of many natural advantages, they have been continually increaſing their commerce and naval force, till it is at this day far ſuperior to that of the Dutch, or that of any other ſtate in the world.

The ſucceſs of the Dutch and Engliſh has excited all the ſtates of Europe, in proportion to their abilities and opportunities, to engage in commerce. This emulation has raiſed ſuch a ſpirit of induſtry, promoted ſo many new manufactures, occaſioned the eſtabliſhment of ſo many new colonies in all parts of the known world, and brought ſuch an amazing acceſſion of riches and power to the ſtates of Europe in general, as muſt have appeared incredible but a few centuries ago. And little did the ancient Greeks and Romans imagine that the *Diviſi toto orbe Brittanni*, and the poor barbarous and ignorant neighbouring nations, would ever make the figure they now do, and go ſo infinitely beyond whatever they had attained to in reſpect to ſcience, commerce, riches, power, and I may add, happineſs.

As to the commerce of England, though it was by no means inconſiderable in ſeveral periods of the more early part of our hiſtory, that were particularly favourable to it, and though it was encouraged by ſeveral of our wiſer princes in thoſe times; yet, till the period in which I have introduced the mention of it, it never was ſo conſiderable as to deſerve being taken notice of in this very general view of the progreſs and revolutions of commerce.

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LECTURE XXXVIII.

Every Thing worthy of Attention in Hiſtory which contributes to make a Nation happy, populous, or ſecure. Government an eſſential Article. Nature and Objects of Civil Government. How far the Proviſions of Government ſhould extend. Liberty of ſpeaking and writing. Public Inſtruction. The Power of Individuals and of the State in the Diſpoſal of Property. Proviſion for the Poor.

LASTLY, every thing is worthy of the attention both of a philoſophical and political reader of hiſtory which can contribute to make a people happy at home, formidable abroad, or increaſe their numbers; becauſe a *numerous*, a *ſecure*, and a *happy* ſociety is the object of all human policy.

This view opens a new field of the moſt important objects of attention to a reader of hiſtory, which it cannot be expected that I ſhould conſider very minutely. I think, however, that I ſhall not fulfil my engagement to point out the proper *objects of attention* to a reader of hiſtory (which implies that I ſhould demonſtrate the things I point out to *be* proper objects of attention) unleſs I explain the great leading *principles of wiſe policy*, in an account of thoſe circumſtances which contribute to the flouriſhing ſtate of ſocieties, and the mutual connexions and influences of thoſe circumſtances. Indeed, the bare mention of them will in ſome meaſure anſwer my purpoſe, as it will make the reader attend

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to the things I point out, as of principal conſequence to promote the happineſs of ſociety, and obſerve their effects in the courſe of his reading, which certainly leads to the beſt practical uſe that can be made of this ſtudy.

Of all the things which contribute to the domeſtic happineſs and ſecurity of ſtates, GOVERNMENT, with the various forms of it, is the firſt that offers itſelf to our notice, and this is in fact the moſt ſtriking object in every hiſtory. To this, therefore, and to every circumſtance relating to it, a reader of hiſtory ought particularly to attend.

Man is ſocial beyond any other animal, and the connexions which men are diſpoſed to form with one another are infinitely more various and extenſive; becauſe they are capable of doing much more for one another than any other animals are. The principle which leads men to form themſelves into thoſe larger ſocieties which we call *ſtates*, is the deſire of ſecuring the undiſturbed enjoyment of their poſſeſſions. Without this the weak would always be at the mercy of the ſtrong, and the ignorant of the crafty. But by means of government the ſtrength and wiſdom of the whole community may be applied to redreſs private wrongs, as well as to repel a foreign invader.

It cannot, indeed, be ſaid that the proper uſe of ſociety (or that which we may ſuppoſe a number of perſons, at firſt unconnected together, and of courſe at the mercy of their neighbours, would firſt think of, in forming a ſociety) is any thing more than mere *ſecurity*. But as they would ſoon find, when thus united, that it was in their power to derive much *poſitive advantage* from their union, *this* may alſo be conſidered as a juſt end of ſociety. The danger, and it is a very great one, is, leſt by aiming at too much poſitive advantage, great numbers

bers may be deprived even of that negative advantage which they firſt propoſed to themſelves, viz. ſecurity from injury and oppreſſion, ſo that they ſhall be more incommoded than benefited by the connexion. It may even happen that a great majority of the community, and ultimately the whole of it, may make ſuch regulations as, inſtead of being uſeful, may eventually be the cauſe of much evil to them. Societies of men, as well as individuals, not being omniſcient, may not conſult the beſt for themſelves, but miſs of the very advantage they aim at, and by the very means by which they think to gain it.

It would be well if the power of government was confined not only to thoſe things in which the whole ſociety are intereſted, but to thoſe in which the power of the whole can be brought to act to the moſt advantage, as in defence from external injuries, which neceſſarily requires union; adminiſtering juſtice, which requires impartiality, and in which the parties themſelves are not to be truſted, as alſo in erecting ſome public works, and forming public inſtitutions, uſeful to the whole and to poſterity.

Since all men naturally wiſh to be at liberty to ſerve themſelves in things in which others are not concerned, and the good of the whole is the great rule by which every thing relating to ſociety ought to be regulated, it is evidently deſireable that recourſe ſhould not be had to the power of the ſociety, except where it can be applied with advantage; and ſince experience is our beſt guide in things of ſo complex a nature as the intereſts of large bodies of men, it is moſt adviſeable to leave every man at perfect liberty to ſerve himſelf, till ſome actual inconvenience be found to reſult from it.

As there are caſes in which *numbers* can eaſily, and conveniently, aſſiſt *individuals*, ſo there are others in which particular individuals are beſt qualified to aſſiſt numbers. In the former caſes there is, therefore, a propriety in the interference of government, but certainly not in the latter; and in this claſs we muſt rank every thing that relates to the inveſtigation of truth, and the progreſs of knowledge, as medicine, philoſophy, theology, &c. and every thing in practice depending upon them, in which any number of the ſociety may voluntarily join without diſturbing others. The reaſon is, that in every thing of this nature, ingenious and ſpeculative individuals will always be the firſt to make diſcoveries, and it will require time to communicate them to the reſt. Conſequently, if the preſent opinions and practices of the majority of any ſociety were impoſed upon all the reſt, no improvements could ever take place; and the moſt ingenious members of the community, thoſe who would be the beſt qualified to ſerve it, by adding to the general ſtock of knowledge, would always be ſubject to be diſtreſſed, and to have their generous endeavours thwarted, by the interference of the more bigotted part of the community, whoſe prejudices, againſt what would ultimately be for their own advantage, might in time be overcome, provided that perfect liberty was given to all perſons to ſpeculate, and to act as they ſhould judge proper. Different ſchemes would then be propoſed by different perſons, the ſociety would have the benefit of all the experiments they would make; and that ſcheme would at length be generally and univerſally adopted, which ſhould appear to be moſt conducive to the good of the whole.

Indeed, one of the moſt valuable rights of men, as individuals, and the moſt important to the ſtate itſelf, is that of giving their

their opinions, and endeavouring to inform others, where either their own intereſt, or that of the public, is concerned. It is the only method of collecting and increaſing the wiſdom of the nation. It is therefore for the intereſt of the whole that, in a ſtate of ſociety, every man retain his natural powers of ſpeaking, writing, and publiſhing his ſentiments on all ſubjects, eſpecially in propoſing new forms of government, and cenſuring thoſe who abuſe any public truſt. It is the eaſieſt and beſt method of checking abuſes. Perſons may certainly do miſchief by this, as well as by every other power of doing good; but it will be ſufficiently checked if every man be puniſhed for any injury that he can be proved to have done to others in his property, good name, &c. But if this extend to his public character, and the emoluments of public offices, the great uſe of liberty of ſpeech and of writing will be prevented. If any officer be traduced as an officer, let him vindicate himſelf in the ſame way in which he was injured, or employ his friends to do it. He has the ſame acceſs to the public opinion that other perſons have, and he ought to be contented with it.

Of thoſe ſervices in which it is neceſſary for numbers to give their aid to individuals, it is not neceſſary that all of them ſhould be performed by the whole ſociety, ſome of thoſe ſervices being more conveniently performed by a particular part of it. Thus a public road, or bridge, may be moſt conveniently made by the diſtrict in which it is wanted; but the power of the ſtate may be neceſſary to compel the inhabitants of that diſtrict to do it, or to direct the mode in which it ſhould be done; whether, for example, by a general contribution, or by tolls upon the uſe of the road or bridge. Where the latter can be done, it is the moſt reaſonable, becauſe every perſon pays in proportion to the benefit he receives.

Public inſtruction is an object in which the whole ſociety is intereſted. It may therefore be proper that the government give ſome attention to it. But as individuals are ſtill more intereſted in it, it may be beſt for the ſtate to do no more than appoint ſchools in every diſtrict, or direct in what manner the teachers may be induced, by ſufficient ſalaries, or the uſe of proper rooms, &c. to inſtruct all that offer themſelves; leaving them to derive the chief part of their maintenance from their fees for teaching. As the arts of reading and writing are of particular importance to all perſons, it ſhould ſeem that effectual proviſion ought to be made, either by rewards or puniſhments, that all ſhould be inſtructed in them.

In a very improved ſtate of ſociety, the occupation of each perſon is ſo limited, that in order to attain perfection in it, he muſt in a manner ſacrifice every thing elſe. Conſequently, men would be little more than machines without ſome knowledge of letters, and an opportunity of improving themſelves by reading. In Scotland, and in North America, the judicious eſtabliſhment of pariſh ſchools has enabled all the common people to read, and a great proportion of them to write and caſt accompts.

The proviſions of government are always ſuppoſed to extend beyond the preſent day, the laws of ſociety being a rule for our own future conduct and that of our poſterity; but it becomes men, as knowing themſelves to be ſhort ſighted, not to pretend to look very far into futurity, but to make proviſion for rectifying their miſtakes whenever they ſhall be diſcovered, and to make the rectification as eaſy as poſſible. For when mankind find themſelves aggrieved by any regulations of their anceſtors, they will, no doubt, relieve themſelves; but, in conſequence of the injudicious proviſions of paſt ages, they may ſuffer extremely before they can do this.

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It is wiſe, therefore, in ſocieties, if not expreſly to appoint a formal reviſion of their whole conſtitution after a certain time, at leaſt to do this with reſpect to ſubordinate parts, and by all means to prevent individuals from making ſuch a diſpoſal of their property as ſhall be manifeſtly injurious in future ages. If the Engliſh law had not interfered in former times, ſuch was the ſuperſtition of the people, and their ſubjection to the prieſts, that the greateſt part of the landed property of this kingdom would have been given to the church, and the preſent generation would not have had the diſpoſal of any part of it.

All alienation of property to thoſe who have not the power of alienating it again ſhould be carefully watched in every country, whether lands appropriated to religious or charitable uſes, or any other object that reſpects future time. Otherwiſe, the beſt intentioned, and the moſt enlightened perſons may do harm when they mean to do good. For want of proper care in the management of any *fund* for future uſe, the deſign of it is liable to be perverted, thoſe who ſuperintend it not having the ſame upright views with thoſe who appointed them; ſo that a very ſmall advantage may be procured at a very great expence. If the proviſion was intended to remedy any evil, the evil itſelf may ceaſe, and the fund become uſeleſs. The Cruſades brought the leproſy into Europe, and charitable perſons founded a great number of *lazarettos* for the reception and cure of lepers. But the leproſy is not ſo common at this day as many other diſeaſes, and therefore it does not require any particular proviſion.

When revenues are left to the diſpoſal of truſtees, they will, directly or indirectly, find a benefit to themſelves, or their friends, in the truſt; and ſo many perſons will become intereſted

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in the continuance of it, that, let the abuſe of property be ever ſo great, a powerful intereſt will be formed againſt any reformation; and ſuch inſtitutions may do much harm, before it be diſcovered that they even do no good.

In moſt caſes it would certainly be much better to provide temporary remedies for inconveniences, ſuch as the relief of the poor, the maintenance of places of education, &c. If they be ſupported by the voluntary contributions of the living, they will be properly ſuperintended, and they will not be continued longer than they will be found to be uſeful. Why ſhould we preſume that our poſterity will not be as wiſe and as generous as ourſelves? There is the greateſt certainty that they will be *wiſer*, and therefore the faireſt preſumption that they will be *better* than we are. But all *perpetuities* go upon the idea of there being a want of wiſdom, or of generoſity, in our deſcendants.

The ſafe *transferring*, as well as the ſecure *poſſeſſion* of property, is a privilege which we derive from ſociety. But it is a queſtion among politicians, how far this privilege ſhould extend? That all perſons ſhould have the abſolute diſpoſal of their property during their own lives, and while they have the uſe of their underſtanding, was never diſputed. But ſome, and among them is Mr. Turgot, ſays there ſhould be no *teſtament*, a man ſhould have no power of diſpoſing of his property after his death, but it ſhould be diſtributed by the law, according to the degrees of conſanguinity. But in moſt, if not all the civilized ſtates of Europe, every man has an indefinite power over his property, ſo that he can direct the enjoyment of it in all future time.

Perhaps a medium would be the moſt convenient in this caſe. There may be good reaſons (of which private perſons are

are the beſt judges) why, in particular caſes, their property ſhould not deſcend to their children, or neareſt relations. But as no man can look into futurity, and therefore he cannot judge what would be the beſt uſe of his property in generations yet unborn, and they who ſurvive him will have a much better opportunity of judging, there is the ſame reaſon why it ſhould then be at *their* diſpoſal, as that for the preſent it ſhould be at *his*. Let every perſon, therefore, bequeath his property to thoſe perſons in whoſe wiſdom he can moſt confide, but not pretend to direct them in circumſtances which he will never know, and therefore cannot judge of. Indeed the wiſdom of all ſtates is frequently obliged to interfere, and to check the caprice of individuals in the diſpoſal of their property.

A difference in induſtry and good fortune will introduce a difference in the conditions of men in ſociety, ſo that in time ſome will become rich, and others poor; and in caſe of extreme old age, and particular accidents, many of the latter muſt periſh without the aſſiſtance of the former. On this account wiſe ſtateſmen will take the ſtate of the *poor* into conſideration. But in this reſpect there will be great danger of their attempting too much, and thereby encumbering themſelves without remedying the evil.

If every man who is reduced to poverty, by whatever means, be allowed to have a claim upon the common ſtock for ſubſiſtence, great numbers, who are indifferent about any thing beyond a mere ſubſiſtence, will be improvident, ſpending every thing they get in the moſt extravagant manner, as knowing that they have a certain reſource in the proviſion which the law makes for them; and the greater is the proviſion that is made for the poor, the more poor there will be to avail themſelves of it; as, in general, men will not ſubmit to labour if they can live without it.

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By this means man, inſtead of being the moſt provident of animals, as he naturally would be, is the moſt improvident of them all. Having no occaſion for foreſight, he thinks of nothing beyond the preſent moment, and thus is reduced to a condition lower than that of the beaſts.

This is now become very much the caſe in this country, and the evil is ſo great and inveterate, that it is not eaſy to find a remedy. Better, certainly, would it have been if government had not interfered in the caſe of the poor at all, except to relieve thoſe who are reduced to poverty, or were become diſabled, in the ſervice of their country, as ſoldiers, ſeamen, &c. In this caſe there would, no doubt, be inſtances of great diſtreſs; but ſo there are at preſent, and generally of the moſt deſerving, who decline the relief of the pariſh; while the idle, the impudent, and the clamorous will have it. In general, if no proviſion was made for the poor by law, thoſe who are the moſt truly deſerving of relief would find it ſooner than they now do, in the charity of the well-diſpoſed. In this caſe many no doubt would give nothing to the poor. But in urgent caſes ſomething would be got even from them by ſhame; and by no means can all men be made to bear an equal ſhare of any burthen whatever. The truly well-diſpoſed would not complain of the opportunity of doing more good than others, being content with looking for their reward in a future ſtate.

The beſt method would perhaps be to oblige the poor to provide for themſelves, by appropriating a certain proportion of their wages to that uſe, as is done in the caſe of ſoldiers and ſeamen. As they muſt have a preſent ſubſiſtence, this would only be giving the poorer ſort of them a better price for their labour, and would ultimately be a tax on the produce of that labour. But it would be a much better tax, and far

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leſs expenſive, than the preſent poor rates. If this was not done by a general law, but left to the diſcretion of particular towns, &c. it might be regulated ſo as to enforce greater induſtry, the appropriation being varied according to the gains of workmen.

The idea of not having a perfect command of their own money would, no doubt, at firſt give labourers and manufacturers much diſguſt, and might prevent ſome from engaging in manufactures. But when the regulation was fully eſtabliſhed, that averſion might vaniſh. At all events we muſt, out of a number of evils, chooſe the leaſt.

LECTURE XXXIX.

Of Political and Civil Liberty. Particular Objects of particular Governments. Forms of Government, ſimple or complex. Its conſtituent Parts.

AS it is always convenient to have different *terms* to expreſs different *things*, it may not be amiſs to diſtinguiſh the different kinds of power, or privileges, that men in a ſtate of ſociety enjoy in the following manner. The power which the community leaves him poſſeſſed of with reſpect to his own conduct, may be called his *civil* liberty, whereas the ſhare that he may have in directing the affairs of the ſociety may be called

his *political* liberty. Both the terms being in the language, it will be better to aſſign them theſe diſtinct ſignifications than to uſe them promiſcuouſly, as is commonly done. In a ſtate of civil liberty a man retains the moſt important of his natural rights. In a ſtate of political liberty, he moreover acquires a controul over the conduct of others. It is for his advantage, therefore, to loſe as little of the former, and to gain as much of the latter as he can.

There may be ſtates in which all the members of the community ſhall be politically free, or have an equal power of making laws (or of appointing thoſe who ſhall make them) and yet thoſe laws may be very oppreſſive, leaving individuals little power over their own actions. As, on the other hand, men may enjoy much civil liberty, being left in the undiſturbed uſe of their faculties to think and act for themſelves, and yet be excluded from all ſhare in the government. But in this caſe their civil liberties, or *private rights*, will be precarious, being at the mercy of others. Political liberty is therefore the only ſure guard of civil liberty, and it is chiefly valuable on that account.

It may appear, at firſt ſight, to be of little conſequence whether perſons in the common ranks of life enjoy any ſhare of political liberty or not. But without this there cannot be that perſuaſion of ſecurity and independence, which alone can encourage a man to make great exertions. A man who is ſenſible that he is at the diſpoſal of others, over whoſe conduct he has no ſort of controul, has always ſome unknown evil to dread. He will be afraid of attracting the notice of his ſuperiors, and muſt feel himſelf a mean and degraded being. But a ſenſe of liberty, and a knowledge of the laws by which his conduct muſt be governed, with ſome degree of controul over

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thoſe who make and adminiſter the laws, gives him a conſtant feeling of his own importance, and leads him to indulge a free and manly turn of thinking, which will make him greatly ſuperior to what he would have been under an arbitrary form of government.

Under every form of government we find men united for their common advantage, and ſubmitting to ſuch reſtraints upon their natural liberty as their common good requires. But though this be the general and ultimate object of every government, yet, the whole form of particular governments has ſome more immediate object, to which the principal parts of it are more particularly adapted, and this ought to be attended to in reading the hiſtories of all ſtates. Thus, according to Monteſquieu, war, but rather confined to ſelf defence, was the object of the Spartan government; conqueſt that of ancient Rome, religion that of the Jews, commerce that of Marſeilles, tranquility that of China, &c. The reaſon is that different nations have formed different notions of happineſs, or have been led by their ſituations to purſue it in different ways.

Governments, and ſyſtems of laws adapted to them, are more *ſimple or complex*, according to the variety and connexion of the intereſts of the members of the community. Thus ſince the members of a ſociety which ſubſiſts by hunting interfere but little with one another, few regulations are ſufficient for them. A paſtoral life brings mankind nearer together, agriculture nearer ſtill, and in a ſtate addicted to commerce, the connexions of individuals are the moſt intimate and extenſive, and conſequently their intereſts the moſt involved that any ſituation of human affairs can make them. Whereas, therefore, in the former circumſtances of mankind, government is of leſs conſequence, and for that

reaſon there is leſs occaſion for accuracy in adjuſting the ſeveral parts of it, in the latter, the ſmalleſt part of ſo complex a machine, as their government muſt neceſſarily be, has a variety of connexions, and the moſt important effects, and therefore requires to be adjuſted with the utmoſt care.

In the ſlighter connexions of mankind, the parts of their forms of government are ſcarcely diſtinguiſhable; whereas when government is grown to its full ſize and dimenſions, in circumſtances which require it in its maturity, its parts are eaſily and diſtinctly perceived. They are then plainly ſeen to be the following; a power of making the neceſſary regulations, or laws, *i. e.* the *legiſlative* authority; a power of determining when thoſe laws are violated, or of taking cognizance concerning crimes; *i. e.* the *judicial* power, and a power of enforcing the ſanctions of the laws, or the executive power of the ſtate.

If we conſider the vaſt variety of ways in which it is poſſible to diſpoſe of theſe eſſential parts of government, both with reſpect to the number of hands in which the ſeveral powers may be lodged, the ſubdiviſion of theſe powers, and the ſeveral powers which may be truſted in the ſame hands, we ſhall not be ſurprized at the prodigious diverſity of the forms under which government has appeared, and that no two, which ever exiſted in any part of the world, ſhould have been the ſame; though ſome of them may have borne conſiderable reſemblance to one another. Our ſurprize will ſtill be leſſened if we conſider the diverſity that will be occaſioned in forms of government by individuals retaining more or fewer of their natural and perſonal rights under each of them; that is the more or fewer reſtrictions men are put under by the legiſlative power, in what ever hands it be lodged.

Beſide

Beſide the number of hands in which the ſupreme power is lodged, it will be of great conſequence that, in reading hiſtory, we attend to the diſtribution of the powers among all thoſe members of the ſtate who have the common name of *magiſtrates*. I ſhall juſt mention a few particulars, to ſhew that this object is of importance.

No ſingle hiſtory ſhows the importance of this remark more clearly than the Roman, in whoſe conſtitution there were the moſt capital defects. What, for inſtance, could be a greater contradiction than this, that the people could, in latter times, make laws independent of the ſenate, and without the intervention of any patrician; and yet that the ſenate could create a dictator, who was abſolute maſter of the whole ſtate. The people, by their tribunes, could put a negative upon the proceedings of the ſenate, but that ſenate had no negative on the votes of the people; which, Monteſquieu ſays, was the cauſe of a change of government in Rome; and not only could the tribunes put a ſtop to the legiſlative power, but to the executive alſo, which produced the greateſt evils.

Nothing could have preſerved that ſtate in the form of a republic ſo long, but that the power was lodged in the hands of ſo many perſons, who, with the ſame authority, had different views, and who checked one another. It was likewiſe happy for the Romans that the people did not generally interfere in military affairs, but allowed the ſenate to have the ſupreme direction of all things relating to peace and war; whereas, at Carthage, the people would do every thing themſelves.

It is a capital difference between ancient and modern monarchies, that the kings of the heroical ages had the *executive power* and alſo the power of *judging*, and the people the legiſlative

tive power; whereas in the preſent monarchies, though the prince has the executive, and a ſhare of the legiſlative power, he is no judge. Such a diſpoſition of power as the former will make the government tyrannical, whatever be the form of it. For, as Monteſquieu ſays, there can be no liberty unleſs the power of judging be ſeparate from the legiſlative and executive power. In Italy, where they are united, there is leſs liberty than in monarchies.

It is alſo an eſſential maxim in every government (in order to prevent the executive power from engroſſing the whole authority of the ſtate) that the forces they are entruſted with the command of, be of the body of the people, or have the ſame intereſt with the people, as it was in Rome till the time of Marius.

The legiſlative is properly the ſupreme authority in the ſtate. For to make and alter laws is to model the conſtitution. But if the perſons deputed to make laws have no power of executing them, they will be careful to make none but ſuch as they believe will be generally approved, and ſuch as they are willing to ſubmit to themſelves. But the greateſt danger would ariſe from the ſame perſons having the power of making laws, of applying them to particular caſes, and of executing the ſentence of the law. This it is, as I have obſerved, that conſtitutes abſolute *tyranny*, whether it be lodged in more, or in fewer hands.

If the executive power, without having the controul of the legiſlative, ſhould only interfere in the judicial office, individuals would live in continual dread of the caprice of the court; ſince the beſt laws may be tortured to favour ſome and injure others. But the great body of the people of England, who

effectually controul the legiſlative power, and who will not ſuffer their property to be ſported with at the pleaſure of the crown, apply the ſame means to preſerve the judicature uncorrupt. It is a common concern, and no man would wiſh to eſtabliſh a ſyſtem of adminiſtration by which himſelf might ultimately be a ſufferer. Conſequently, every man's perſonal intereſt leads him to provide for that kind of adminiſtration by which the general good will be moſt effectually ſecured.

The various forms of government have generally received their denominations from the number of perſons to whom the legiſlative power, and conſequently the regulation of every part of the conſtitution (which is the moſt ſtriking circumſtance in every government) has been intruſted. If it be in one perſon, it is commonly called a *monarchy*, eſpecially if the chief magiſtrate lie under conſiderable reſtrictions; whereas if he lie under fewer, the government is called *deſpotic*. If the ſupreme power be lodged in a limited number of perſons, the government is called an *oligarchy*, or an *ariſtocracy*; and if all the citizens have an equal vote in making laws and appointing magiſtrates, it is called a *democracy*.

From this method of defining the various forms of government, it is obvious to remark, that the diſtinctions muſt run into one another; but it is not material to have terms appropriated to any more accurate diviſion. I ſhall juſt mention ſo much of the peculiar advantages and diſadvantages of each of theſe forms of government, as I think will be ſufficient to excite the attention of a reader of hiſtory to the ſubject, and make him conſider their effects in the courſe of his reading.

To

To enable you to form ſome idea of the low ſtate of this ſcience of government in ancient times, only conſider how imperfect Ariſtotle's ideas muſt have been of the conſtitution of ſtates, when as Monteſquieu obſerves, he claſſes Perſia and Sparta under the ſame head of *monarchy*. In fact, the ancients can hardly be ſaid to have an idea of what we now mean by the word *monarchy*. Arribas king of Epirus, in order to temper the government of one perſon, could hit upon nothing but a republic, and the Moloſſi, to bound the ſame power, made two kings. It is a known fact that the ancient ſtates, though founded many of them by philoſophers, did not contain that proviſion for the freedom and happineſs of the ſubjects of them which has been the natural reſult of the random governments of ſome of the northern nations.

LECTURE XL.

Reaſons for the Prevalence of Deſpotiſm in early Times. Advantages of Monarchy. Diſadvantages of it. What Circumſtances make the Situation of a People moſt happy in Deſpotic States. What Circumſtances always more or leſs controul Deſpotiſm. Attachment of ſome Nations to Deſpotiſm. Danger of Libels. Importance of a fixed Law of Succeſſion. Profligacy of Morals in arbitrary Governments. True Seat of Power in them.

THE moſt ſimple of all governments is *abſolute monarchy*: and this is the reaſon why it has generally been the firſt form of government in all countries. It requires great ſkill and experience to balance the ſeveral powers of a free ſtate.

The great advantage of a monarchy is, that reſolutions may be taken with ſecrecy, and executed with diſpatch: a thing of the utmoſt conſequence, particularly in time of war, and for this reaſon this form of government is almoſt neceſſary to extenſive empire. But the great diſadvantage of this government is, that property is ſo precarious, that no body has any ſpirit to apply to commerce, or dare affect any appearance of riches and ſplendor. Alſo the high intereſt of money, which neceſſarily riſes with the hazard that is run in lending or poſſeſſing it, is an additional diſcouragement to traffic. No perſon therefore, in countries ſubject to deſpotic government, lays himſelf out in projects which would benefit poſterity, but, every

perſon being intent upon enjoying the preſent hour, a rapacious mercenary ſpirit prevails among all ranks and degrees of men.

Another great unhappineſs in countries whoſe government is ſtrictly deſpotic is, that, there being no fundamental laws, the order of ſucceſſion is not always accurately fixed. Conſequently, every branch of the royal family being equally capable of being elected *king*, it occaſions frequent civil wars, and bloody revolutions. This is the reaſon why in Turky, and many other Eaſtern ſtates, the emperor, immediately upon his acceſſion to the throne, either puts to death, impriſons for life, or puts out the eyes of, all his brothers and near relations. Clovis alſo, king of France, though the government was not deſpotic, exterminated all his family, leſt any of them ſhould be choſen king. His children and ſucceſſors did the ſame.

Thoſe countries which are ſo unhappy as to be governed in a deſpotic manner, Mr. Monteſquieu ſays, are the happieſt that their condition will admit of, when all ranks of men ſtand moſt in fear of their ſuperiors; and a wiſe prince, in ſuch a ſtate, will incline rather to ſeverity than lenity. In Perſia he ſays Mereveis ſaw the ſtate periſh becauſe he had not ſhed blood enough; and the Roman empire enjoyed the moſt happineſs under Tiberius, Nero, and Domitian. For this reaſon it is conſiſtent with ſuch governments that all decrees ſhould be irrevocable. Thus Ahaſuerus could not revoke the edict he had once paſſed for exterminating the Jews. To render it of no effect they were allowed to ſtand upon their defence.

Even that law, or cuſtom, which obliges every perſon to continue in the profeſſion to which he was born ſuits very well with deſpotic governments, where every ſpark of emulation is dangerous, and where the moſt watchful eye ought to be kept over every thing that may poſſibly diſturb the public tranquility.

tranquility. In no ſtate whatever is tranquility more effectually preſerved, by every thing being invariable, than in China. There manners, morals, and laws are equally fixed; and youth are inſtructed in the forms of ſalutation, and all the common rules of life, in the ſame regular manner as in the moſt important ſciences.

In ſome deſpotic governments, not only is the life of the prince in continual danger, either from competitors to power, or the diſcontents of injured ſubjects, but the country itſelf is more expoſed to invaſion. The princes are jealous of fortified places, and will not, except in caſes of the greateſt neceſſity, admit of them; ſo as to be obliged to truſt any perſon with the government of them.

Notwithſtanding the opinion of a *right to power* be very common, this prepoſſeſſion has generally given way to ſuch an abhorrence of theſe tyrannical governments, that the very names which have been uſed to expreſs them have grown in the higheſt degree odious; as *Tyrant* among the Greeks, and *Rex* among the Romans; inſomuch that it has frequently been more ſafe to uſurp the power itſelf than to aſſume the title of it. It was reckoned virtuous in Greece and Rome to kill *kings* and *tyrants*, though in the latter *emperors* were reſpected.

We are not, however, to conclude that becauſe there are no regular laws in deſpotic governments, and no perſon inveſted with power to controul the ſovereign, every man's life and property are abſolutely unſafe. Manners, cuſtoms, prevailing ſentiments, and eſpecially religion, are great and often effectual reſtraints upon the exerciſe of ſeemingly unlimited power. The Grand Seignior can neither touch the public treaſure, break the Janizaries, interfere with the Seraglios of any of his ſubjects, nor impoſe a new tax.

Notwithſtanding the abhorrence we have entertained of deſpotic governments, from ſtudying the republican claſſical writers of antiquity, and from our living under a more happy conſtitution, there are not wanting examples of people being ſtrongly attached to deſpotiſm. The Cappadocians are ſaid to have refuſed their freedom when the Romans would have given it them. In the Eaſt there is no idea of the poſſibility of any other kind of government. A Venetian being introduced to the king of Pegu, and ſaying that there was no king at Venice, the prince burſt into a fit of laughter.

As the proſpect of honour is a great inſtrument of government, the fear of ſhame is no leſs powerful. No man can bear univerſal or very general cenſure, eſpecially if he has neceſſary intercourſe with thoſe who diſlike his conduct. On this account, no country can ſuffer much, or long, whatever be its form of government, if the people have the liberty of ſpeaking and writing, and have an unreſtrained right of petitioning and remonſtrating. In this caſe juſtice and truth, being often preſented to view, will at length be heard and attended to. This is a great ſecurity in the Engliſh government, and prevents many abuſes which would otherwiſe take place in it.

Arbitrary governors, aware of this, take the greateſt care to prevent the people from publiſhing their thoughts on matters of government, and ſometimes even forbid their meeting together. But this is running the riſk of a greater evil in order to avoid a leſs. The people, not having the liberty of ſpeech, by which they might give vent to, and ſooth, their complaints, ſmother their reſentment for a time, and then break out into the greateſt outrages. Tyrants who would not bear to be cenſured have often been ſuddenly dragged to death.

The

The capital advantages of monarchy, with reſpect to internal quiet, is that, when the law of ſucceſſion is fixed, and univerſally reſpected, and when the executive power is lodged in the hands of the ſovereign, no ſubject can have the leaſt proſpect of transferring it to himſelf. It will therefore be the intereſt of all to keep within due bounds, that power in which they can never ſhare, and to ſee that it be employed for the public good. This is the capital advantage attending the conſtitution of this country, as it is explained at large by Mr. De Lolme. All watch the monarch, but none endeavour to ſupplant him. In conſequence of this, all ſtruggles between the prince and the people have terminated in ſome advantage, which has been common to all the ſubjects, and not to any one claſs of them in particular. The executive power being ſo great, the aſſiſtance of all ranks has been neceſſary to curb it.

Many of the eſtabliſhed maxims of politicians the moſt celebrated for their ſagacity, are exceedingly fallacious, in conſequence of being drawn from a *few facts* only. Machiavel, one of the moſt famed of them ſays, that if ever a prince confides in one able miniſter, he will be dethroned by him. But, as Mr. Hume juſtly replies, would Fleury, one of the moſt abſolute miniſters in France, though ever ſo ambitious, while in his ſenſes, entertain the leaſt hope of diſpoſſeſſing the Bourbons? Nor, we may add, is it poſſible that the moſt able, the moſt ambitious, and the moſt abſolute of our miniſters of ſtate, ſhould ſupplant the houſe of Hanover. But becauſe the contrary had happened in ancient times, when the rule of hereditary right was not ſo firmly eſtabliſhed, it was concluded that it would always happen.

The only danger ariſing to a people from the executive power being lodged in one hand, is that of its becoming

independent

independent of the people. But this is happily guarded againſt in the Engliſh conſtitution, in which the king is entirely dependant upon the people for all his ſupplies. He is therefore obliged to reſpect the privileges of the people, and he cannot involve them in a war in which they are unwilling to ſupport him. This, at leaſt, would be the caſe, if the houſe of commons was the true repreſentative of the people. But as things actually are, the influence of the court on the members of this houſe is ſo great, that they are often induced to give their ſanction to meaſures which their conſtituents would not approve.

If the monarch be wholly dependant upon the people for his ſupplies, it is of the greateſt importance that thoſe be granted by them *in one great body*, as in England. If the ſupplies be voted by ſeparate diſtricts, they will have jealouſies among themſelves. Some will give more, and others leſs, than their due proportion; and it will be in the power of the court to gain their ends with them all, by playing one againſt another. On this circumſtance Mr. De Lolme lays great ſtreſs.

One of the greateſt evils attending monarchy, is the diſſoluteneſs of morals almoſt neceſſarily incident to a ſplendid court. A family poſſeſſed of great power will, on ſome pretence or other, amaſs great wealth; and the young princes being brought up with an idea of their own importance, they will indulge themſelves at the expence of the public. They will alſo have many dependants, whoſe intereſt it will be to enlarge their power, and increaſe their wealth, that they may be benefited by the diſperſion of it. The perſons next in power will imitate the manners of the princes, and they will be envied and imitated by others. And as the means to gain their end, will be recommending themſelves to their ſuperiors (and not their inferiors) they will ſtudy the gratification of their

wiſhes, that is, they will adminiſter to their vices; and thus a general profligacy of manners will be the conſequence. Perſons educated monarchs, and who ſhould have virtue enough both to ſet a good example themſelves, and to diſcourage vice in others, would be prodigies. It cannot be expected but that monarchs in general will have ſome objects beſides the public good, and that they will employ thoſe perſons whom they deem the beſt qualified to ſerve them, whether they be men of private virtue or not.

The real power of a country is ſeldom in thoſe hands in which the conſtitution ſeems to have placed it; ſo that if thoſe who have buſineſs to do with any ſtate apply in the firſt inſtance to thoſe whoſe office it is to receive them, they will ſeldom gain their point. They muſt apply to thoſe who by their talents or aſſiduity, have recommended themſelves to the governing powers, ſo as to eaſe them of the burthen of public affairs. This is more particularly the caſe in deſpotic governments, in which princes are ſo educated as to be ſeldom capable of buſineſs. It will therefore be done by thoſe who are about them, and who have inſinuated themſelves into their favour; and theſe, being chiefly actuated by their private paſſions, and eſpecially their affection or diſlike to particular perſons, the intereſt of the ſtate will be little conſulted by them. How often have generals been appointed, and even wars engaged in, at the caprice of women.

LECTURE XLI.

Advantages of Democracy. Connexion of Liberty and Science. Situation of Republics with reſpect to defence. Severity of Manners in Republics. Severe Puniſhments dangerous. The true Supports of Republican Government. Danger of Luxury. Equality of Fortunes. Exorbitant Power in Magiſtrates dangerous. Number of Voters. Rotation of Offices. Uncertain Reſolution of Multitudes. Uſe of Repreſentatives.

A Perfect democracy is an extreme directly oppoſite to abſolute monarchy, and, next to it, is the eaſieſt to be fallen into, particularly by ſmall ſtates. Hence all the petty ſtates of Greece, without exception, when they put down their tyrants, fell into ſome kind of democracy, though no two of their forms of government were exactly the ſame.

The capital advantage of this form of government is, that as there is the ſame free acceſs to honour and employments to every member of the ſtate, free ſcope is given to the exertion of every man's abilities. Here, therefore, we may naturally expect the utmoſt efforts of the human faculties, eſpecially in thoſe talents which are moſt calculated to ſtrike the vulgar, and acquire general applauſe.

The art of *haranguing* is above all others a neceſſary qualification, being almoſt the only road to preferment. Hence ariſes *eloquence*, and thoſe other branches of the *belles lettres* and politer arts which are connected with it, and are not of the effeminate and unmanly kind. For the eloquence of a free

ſtate

ſtate muſt be adapted to affect the paſſions and imaginations of men of a natural and uncorrupted taſte. Otherwiſe it would have no effect.

Beſides, in a republic the neceſſity of reſtraining the magiſtrates muſt give riſe to general *laws*, and from law ariſes ſecurity, from ſecurity curioſity, and from curioſity knowledge, as Mr. Hume (who ſeems particularly fond of this kind of government) marks the gradation. But a commonwealth is certainly unfavourable to *politeneſs*, and ſoftneſs of manners. This kind of refinement grows more naturally from that ſpirit of ſervility which is the effect of deſpotic government.

With reſpect to defence, we ſee, in the hiſtory of the earlier period of Greece, that an enthuſiaſtic love of liberty, in an union of ſeveral free ſtates, has ſome advantages which may compenſate for any inconvenience that may attend the want of an abſolute commander; though we can hardly ſay with Monteſquieu, that republics in a league enjoy all the advantages of a commonwealth within themſelves, and the advantages of a monarchy with reſpect to defence.

It will be a great miſtake to conclude that where there is no deſpotic ſovereign, the people, being free from that reſtraint upon their conduct, may ſafely indulge themſelves in greater liberty. For in no form of government whatever is a perfect ſubjection more neceſſary. All the members of a republic muſt live in the ſtricteſt obedience; but then it is to their equals, and to the laws. Xenophon obſerves a great difference between the reverence and obſervance of the laws in the Lacedæmonians and Athenians, to the diſadvantage of the latter.

When the laws ceaſe to be executed in a republic, Monteſquieu ſays all is loſt. This can only happen from the corruption

of the republic, and there is no power to remedy the evil, as in monarchy. Hence, in all republics, pardon is with difficulty obtained, if at all. In moſt of them, if this power ſubſiſts at all, it is ſo reſtrained, and ſo difficultly exerted, as almoſt to make good the complaint of the young man in Livy, that a man muſt *ſola innocentia vivere*. In Holland, without a Stadtholder, there is no ſuch power as pardoning, notwithſtanding it be eſſential to policy, and in ſome caſes as neceſſary as juſtice itſelf.

A love of power produces more inconveniences in republics than in monarchies, becauſe places of power and truſt are within the reach of greater numbers, they are to be obtained by making intereſt with the common people, and their reſolutions, having no controul, are apt to be ſudden and violent. The Grecian ſtates, and alſo the republics of Italy in later times, were expoſed to perpetual diſtractions and revolutions in conſequence of it; there being always a conſiderable number of baniſhed perſons, their friends and partiſans, who threatened an invaſion.

Virtue and public ſpirit are the neceſſary ſupports of all republican governments. Hence it was morally impoſſible that Rome ſhould have continued free in the time of Cæſar; and the oppoſition to monarchial power by a few of the better citizens only made the dying ſtruggles of liberty more violent, and more deſtructive to the ſtate. Public ſpirit makes the riches of individuals to become the riches of the public: but when public ſpirit is loſt, the riches of the public become the riches of individuals; and in this caſe, an increaſe of numbers, and of wealth, may be attended with a diminution of power. Athens had as many citizens when Demetrius Phalerius numbered them as they had in their moſt flouriſhing ſtate, and it is certain they were not leſs rich; but public ſpirit was gone, and with that

all

all their former power and importance, and yet that policy is violent which aggrandizes the public by the poverty and diſtreſs of individuals.

From the neceſſity of virtue and public ſpirit in republics ariſes the extreme caution of all wiſe legiſlators to keep luxury out of them, and to preſerve as great an equality in the riches and the power of all the members of the ſtate as poſſible; and hence, indeed, the precarious ſituation of all popular governments, and their neceſſary diſſolution, whenever conqueſt, or commerce, and arts ſhall have taken away that equality. The Roman commonwealth was ruined by the exceſſive riches and power of individuals, and the wealth of the Medici made them maſters of Florence. Moreover, when the numbers of republics become indolent and luxurious, they will make uſe of the public treaſure for improper purpoſes; ſo that the nearer they ſeem to be to derive the greateſt advantages from their liberty, the nearer they ſometimes are to ruin. Witneſs Athens in the time of Demoſthenes. Commerce therefore, which never fails to introduce luxury and inequality into men's circumſtances, does not perfectly ſuit with the true ſpirit of a commonwealth.

If the republic be a trading one, it is an excellent law, that every ſon ſhould be alike ſharer in his father's inheritance; and a boundleſs permiſſion to diſpoſe of eſtates by will, deſtroys by degrees that equality which is neceſſary to a republic.

Hence alſo the neceſſity of having methods of diſperſing immenſe eſtates in republics. In the beſt Grecian republics, the rich were under a neceſſity of ſpending their money in feſtivals, choirs of muſic, chariot and horſe-races, expenſive magiſtracies, and building ſhips; and at Rome the great people bore all the expenſive offices, and the poor paid nothing.

Nothing can give us a clearer idea of the ſtate of things at Athens in this reſpect than a paſſage in the banquet of Xenophon, in which Charmidas is introduced making the following ſpeech, "I am content with my poverty. When I was rich, I "was obliged to make my court to informers, the ſtate was "always laying ſome new burthen upon me, and I could not "abſent myſelf from it: ſince I am become poor, I have ac-"quired authority; nobody threatens me, I threaten others, and "I go where I pleaſe; the rich riſe and give place to me. I am "king, I was a ſlave. I paid tribute to the republic, now it "nouriſhes me."

Great rewards for ſervices, even in monarchies, much more in democracies, are ſigns of their decline. It ſhews that men are not ſufficiently actuated by a ſenſe of virtue and honour, Demoſthenes, Æſchines, and eight more ambaſſadors to the king of Macedon, received leſs than a drachma a day, though a common ſoldier received one and ſometimes two drachmas a day; and yet Demoſthenes calls this a conſiderable ſum. Caligula and Nero gave the moſt, and the Antonines the leaſt, of all the Roman emperors.

Exorbitant power is ſtill more immediately threatening to a republic than exorbitant riches. The perſons poſſeſſed of it are far more dangerous than in lawful monarchies, becauſe there is no law to controul them. Conſidering this, we ſhall not wonder at the oppoſition made by Hanno to Hannibal. In what danger would the republic of Carthage have been if Hannibal had taken Rome, when he made ſo many alterations in its conſtitution after his defeat? At Raguſa, the chief magiſtrate of the republic is changed every month. This is proper only in a ſmall ſtate, ſurrounded by enemies who might corrupt their chiefs.

chiefs. The keeping of the public treaſure at Athens was intruſted with no perſon for more than a ſingle day.

It is of great conſequence that the number of voters in a republic be fixed. At Rome, ſometimes all the citizens were out of the walls, at other times almoſt all Italy was within them; which was one principal cauſe of the fall of the republic. For by that means men of power and ambition were never at a loſs for the means of paſſing any law, or gaining any particular point, that they had occaſion for. Secret ſuffrages are alſo ſaid by Monteſquieu to have been one means of the ruin of Rome: for the common people, then very corrupt, were then under no reſtraint from ſhame. The diſſolution of a republic by luxury and refinement, he ſays, is the true *euthanaſia* of that form of government. For thoſe manners prepare them to ſubmit to monarchy with leſs reluctance; but the convulſions of dying liberty in a rough, a brave, and an enterprizing people, are dreadful.

For this reaſon, and becauſe the clergy are not powerful enough to reſtrain arbitrary power in England, it is ſaid by him that if ever the Engliſh be ſlaves, they will be the greateſt, and moſt miſerable of all ſlaves.

The preſervation of republican forms of government requires that no important offices continue long in the ſame hands. In general, men are lovers of *power*, as well as of *wealth*, becauſe they can make the power of which they are poſſeſſed ſubſervient to moſt of their purpoſes, and they will purſue their own gratification at the expence of that of others. In the diſtribution of power, therefore, care ſhould be taken that no perſons have an opportunity of poſſeſſing it any longer than it may be for the advantage of the whole, and that all powers be eaſily revocable, whenever it ſhall be perceived that they are abuſed.

For

For this purpoſe it ſeems moſt convenient that all offices of great truſt and power be held by *rotation*. Becauſe it will not be for the intereſt of any man to add to the power of an office, to which he muſt himſelf ſoon become ſubject. While he enjoys it he will conſider not ſo much his condition for a ſhort time, as for the greater part of his life, and that of his children and poſterity after him. Whereas, if any power, or honour be *hereditary*, it will be his intereſt to take every opportunity of enlarging it, at the expence of the reſt of the community.

It is very poſſible, however, that the prejudices of ſome people in favour of monarchical government, and of the rights of certain families to kingly power, may be ſo ſtrong, as that it will be better to riſk every thing, than change the form of government; becauſe civil wars, the greateſt of all evils, might be the conſequence of it. When almoſt the whole power of the ſtate is lodged in one hand (as in thoſe governments which are termed *deſpotic*, or which approach to it) there is the greateſt probability that, educated as ſuch princes will be, they will make a very abſurd uſe of their power, ſuch as will by no means be for the intereſt of the community; and if a ſucceſſion conſiſts of able men, their power will continually grow more exorbitant. But whilſt the people *chooſe* to be governed in that mode, and conceive, for whatever reaſon, that a certain family has a *right* ſo to govern them, it would be wrong to attempt a change in the government, and ſtill more ſo to deprive any particular perſon, or family, of thoſe rights, of which, with the conſent of the people, they have been long poſſeſſed. All that can be done in ſuch a caſe is to define with the greateſt accuracy the law of ſucceſſion to power, that there may be no diſpute about the perſon entitled to it, and to prevent as far as poſſible all increaſe of it.

All perſons who are acquainted with any kind of public buſineſs, in which numbers of people give their opinions and decide upon the ſpot, well know with what difficulty it is conducted, and how uncertain the deciſions are. Few think before hand, many are fond of diſtinguiſhing themſelves, and numbers never conſider the queſtion before them, but who are for it, and who againſt it. If a number of the more intelligent of the people prepare matters before-hand, buſineſs may be done with tolerable eaſe; but then it is in reality tranſacted by thoſe few, and the reſt are taken by ſurprize. For in the ſame manner they might have been induced to adopt any meaſures, not manifeſtly contrary to their intereſt.

Where great numbers of perſons are concerned, it is of infinite advantage that they do not deliberate and decide *themſelves*, but chuſe a few to act for them. Theſe having a *truſt*, and knowing that the eyes of the whole community are upon them, will be deſirous of diſcharging their truſt with reputation to themſelves, and conſequently with advantage to their conſtituents. It will be their buſineſs to conſider all public meaſures, and to ſettle a regular method of doing buſineſs. A crown, or a court, having to treat with theſe repreſentatives, choſen out of the people for their wiſdom and reſpectability, will find that they have to do with their equals, and will not expect to cajole and deceive them, as they might have done the collective body of the people. It is abſolutely neceſſary, however, that theſe repreſentatives of the people be confined to that office, and always feel themſeves to be a part of the community which they repreſent. Otherwiſe, the people, in chuſing them, will chuſe their own maſters. If, in conſequence of repreſenting the people, they have an opportunity of acquiring advantages to which the reſt

of

of the community have no acceſs, they will have a different intereſt from that of their conſtituents, and will, no doubt, conſult it.

In a ſtate of political liberty, the people muſt have a controul over the government, by themſelves or their repreſentatives. In large ſtates this can only be done in the latter method, and then it comes to be conſidered who are proper to repreſent the nation, in order to make laws for their countrymen and to diſpoſe of their property. I own I ſee no occaſion for any reſtriction whatever, as it cannot be ſuppoſed that, if people be left to themſelves, they will chuſe improper repreſentatives. If they do, it is fit that they ſhould learn by experience to make a better choice on a future occaſion. If the repreſentative body be large, like our Houſe of Commons, the worſt choice of a few members can be but of little conſequence.

Leaſt of all ſhould people be limited to their choice by a regard to *fortune*. For they may have the juſteſt reaſons to put the greateſt confidence in perſons who have little or no property; and in general they will of themſelves be ſufficiently influenced by this conſideration, without any interference of the law. If a regard to wealth be any rule, it ſhould not extend to very great fortunes. For in general perſons of moderate fortunes are better educated, have fewer artificial wants, and are more independent than thoſe who are born to great eſtates. Beſides, they are more natural repreſentatives of the middle claſs of people, they are more likely to feel for them, and to conſult their intereſt.

It is of the greateſt importance that thoſe who repreſent any nation be of the ſame claſs and rank in life with thoſe by whom they are appointed, and that they have frequent intercourſe with them.

them. By this means they will catch their ſpirit, and enter into their views. They will alſo be reſtrained by a ſenſe of ſhame from propoſing, or conſenting to, any thing that they know their electors would not approve. They could not ſhew themſelves in public company after any conduct of this kind. On the other hand, the members of an ariſtocracy, ſufficiently numerous to have ſociety among themſelves, would feel only for themſelves, and would have no reſtraint on their meaſures reſpecting the lower ranks of the community. They might even make it a point of honour to preſerve and enlarge their privileges, at the expence of thoſe beneath them.

It is alſo of great importance that, in an aſſembly of repreſentatives, *property* only, or reputed *underſtanding*, be conſidered and not *claſſes*, or denominations of men. If the clergy be admitted as clergy, lawyers as lawyers, ſoldiers as ſoldiers, &c. they will have what the French call the *eſprit de corps*. They will unite to conſult their own intereſt, and ſome of the bodies will make conceſſions to others, at the expence of the reſt of the community. Whereas when they are choſen merely becauſe the people at large think them the beſt qualified to provide for their general intereſts, they will conſult the wiſhes of thoſe who appoint them, and the intereſt of each part will be attended to in proportion to its importance to the whole.

From the remains of ſuperſtition, the clergy are ſtill conſidered as a diſtinct order of men in this country, and they are in a manner repreſented in parliament, by the biſhops having ſeats in the houſe of lords. It is alleged that this is neceſſary in order to take care of their intereſts. But on the ſame principle phyſicians, lawyers, diſſenters, and all other claſſes of men, ought to have ſeats in parliament. If the clergy recommend themſelves to the people by making their office uſeful, they will have ſuf-

ficient influence, without any of their body having ſeats in parliament; and if they come to be conſidered in an offenſive light, the number of the biſhops by whom they are repreſented is too ſmall to prevent the paſſing of any law, even to exclude them. If they had a juſt ſenſe of the nature of their office, and conſulted their true dignity, they would retire of their own accord. At preſent, their ſeat in the houſe only flatters their pride, and gives the miniſter ſo many more votes.

LECTURE LXII.

Ariſtocracy how different from Deſpotiſm. What depends upon the Number of its Members. Libels peculiarly Obnoxious in this Government. In what Reſpects the preſent European Monarchies differ from the ancient Monarchies. Their Riſe. Peculiar Advantage of them. Nobility. Theſe Governments promiſe to be laſting. Different Situation of the Female Sex in theſe Governments and thoſe which are Deſpotic. The Nature of the Roman Government. The Happineſs of having the Order of Succeſſion in Monarchies fixed. European Monarchies not proper for extenſive Empire.

IT is eaſy to ſee that all other forms of government muſt be ſomewhere in a medium between the extremes of *deſpotiſm* and *democracy*, and that they muſt, conſequently, partake of the advantages and diſadvantages of both; according as they approach

approach towards them. The moſt diſtinguiſhed mediums in the diſpoſition of power are in the *ariſtocracies* of ſome ancient and modern ſtates, and the preſent *European monarchies*.

An ariſtocracy, however, differs nothing from a deſpotiſm, except that the ſame abſolute power is lodged in a few more hands. All the reſt of the people are as much at their mercy; and as the people have more maſters, they are generally more oppreſſed.

The more are the members of an ariſtocracy, the leſs is their power, and the greater their ſafety; the fewer they are, the greater is their power, and the leſs their ſafety, till we come to pure deſpotiſm, where there is the greateſt power and the leaſt ſafety. If the members of the ariſtocracy enter into trade, and conſequently the riches, as well as the power, of the ſtate center in themſelves, they will oppreſs the poor, to the diſcouragement of all induſtry. For the ſame reaſon, it is ſtill worſe when an arbitrary ſovereign applies to trade; for trade, of all things, requires to be conducted by perſons who are upon terms of equality.

In proportion to the numbers of the ariſtocracy, they ought to relax of the rigour of deſpotiſm; and when they are pretty numerous, the greateſt moderation ought to be their principle. They ought to affect no unneceſſary diſtinctions, leaſt of all thoſe which are honourable to themſelves in proportion as they are diſgraceful to the common people; as the patricians of Rome did when they reſtrained themſelves from marrying with the Plebeians.

Perſonal privileges and immunities, which are not neceſſary for the good of the whole, are always juſtly offenſive. To a perſon in an office which has for its object the public good, deference will eaſily be paid; but in all other caſes a diſtinction of *rank*

naturally excites jealouſy. It creates pride in the one, and ſervility in the other, which debaſes the characters of both.

It is well obſerved by Mr. Turgot, that all hereditary diſtinctions, if they have any civil effect, and confer any right, and all perſonal prerogatives, if they are not the neceſſary conſequence of exerciſing a public function, are a diminution of the natural rights of other men, a proceeding contrary to the primitive end of ſociety, and of conſequence a real injuſtice*.

In the eaſtern monarchies there are no hereditary nobles. In China the grand-children of the greateſt mandarins are generally on a level with the common people†.

How galling the power of the nobility is to the common people, we ſee in the preference which ſome nations have given to pure monarchy, or deſpotiſm, to thoſe forms of government in which the nobility had the chief power. This was conſpicuous in the late revolutions in Denmark, and Sweden; in which, with the hearty concurrence of the people, the power of the nobility was transferred to the king. It was alſo conſpicuous in the part which the commons of England took, in concurrence with the king, to leſſen the power of the ancient barons.

From the diſtribution of power into ſo many hands, *libels* are moſt liable to be reſtrained in this kind of governments; becauſe the magiſtrates are neither too high, nor too low, to be hurt by them. Contrary to the maxims of a republic, all the ſuffrages in an ariſtocracy, ſays Monteſquieu, ought to be ſecret, to prevent cabals.

Poland is the worſt conſtituted ariſtocracy, where the people are ſlaves to their nobility.

* Life of Mr. Turgot, p. 307.

† Memoirs ſur les Chinois, vol. iv. p. 311.

The preſent *European monarchies* are ſyſtems of government totally different from any thing of which the ancients could form an idea. Every thing they ſay about monarchies is every day contradicted in them. They were formed in the following manner.

The German nations were in general free, and voted every thing in perſon. When they were diſperſed in their conqueſts they could not do this, but ſent deputies, and hence aroſe the cuſtom of *repreſentation*, by means of which equal political liberty may be made conſiſtent with the moſt extenſive governments.

The common people were originally *vaſſals*, or *ſlaves*, and were conſidered as belonging to the lands on which they were ſettled, and they were transferred with them from one proprietor to another, which is the caſe in many parts of the continent to this day. But chriſtianity, and ſeveral other circumſtances, contributed to better the condition of ſlaves in the weſtern parts of Europe, and by degrees they all obtained their liberty. Not having been uſed to arms, as the free men had all been, they became addicted to arts and trade, by which they acquired conſiderable property, and with that influence and power. At length, and by degrees, they ſent their repreſentatives to the great council of the nation, and thus the civil liberty of the people, the prerogatives of the nobility, and clergy, together with the power of the king, who was originally nothing more than their general, was ſo tempered, that it is aſtoniſhing that the regulations made by a conquering people, ſhould have terminated in a better form of government than any thing that had ever been deviſed by man before.

Theſe governments have the advantage of deſpotiſm in time of war, and property is as ſecure in them as it can be in any republic.

republic. The ancients, ſays Monteſquieu, could never have imagined what we now ſee; that monarchy is capable of order, method, and conſtancy to ſo ſurprizing a degree, property ſecured, induſtry encouraged, the arts flouriſhing, and the prince living ſecure among his ſubjects, like a father among his children.

The nobility being the deſcendants of the greater barons, or freemen, makes a diſtinct order of men in this kind of monarchy, and having been accuſtomed to arms, and not to trade, a ſenſe of honour is the grand ſpring of action in them. If commerce decay in theſe monarchies, it is not becauſe property is leſs ſecure, but becauſe the profeſſion is leſs honourable.

Theſe governments promiſe to be the moſt laſting of all others; becauſe, conſiſting of ſo many parts, each of which has a negative on all reſolutions of conſequence, they are a check upon, and balance, one another; and every public meaſure has the opportunity of being repeatedly and thoroughly diſcuſſed.

According to Monteſquieu, the power and happineſs of monarchical ſtates is in a great meaſure independent both of public ſpirit, and of a principle of virtue. Nay, the very vices of the members of them (at leaſt thoſe things which would be vices in a republic) are, he ſays, ſubſervient to their welfare. In a monarchy there is at leaſt leſs to be apprehended from luxury, and the chief promoter of it, a free intercourſe between the two ſexes. The Suions a German nation, Tacitus ſays, honoured riches, and lived under the government of one perſon. It is curious to ſee, in Dio Caſſius, with what art Auguſtus evaded the requeſt of the ſenators to ſtop the progreſs of luxury, which was become neceſſary at Rome, when a monarchy. In a republic candidates for offices look downward, and ſtudy the uſeful arts; but in a monarchy they look upwards, and ſtudy to

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make themſelves agreeable. Though, therefore, ſtrong ſenſe may ſucceed beſt in republics, refinement of taſte may be expected in greater perfection in monarchies.

Beſides, where there is a free intercourſe between the ſexes, the mutual deſire of pleaſing produces a continual change of faſhions, and manners, very conſiſtent with monarchy, but incompatible with deſpotiſm. Moreover, whereas, in a monarchy, women are the promoters of luxury; in deſpotic governments they are merely the objects of it. Were women to behave with that freedom and ſpirit of intrigue in Aſia, that they are remarkable for in Europe, and particularly in France, the government would ſoon be obliged to take notice of it. Republics alſo are obliged to put great reſtraints upon the incontinence of women, in order to ſecure public virtue, which is ſo eſſential to them; whereas, in monarchies, though thoſe vices have the ſame ill conſequences in private families, the miſchiefs they produce are leſs extenſive.

The Roman government never was properly monarchical. It was ſometimes chiefly republican, and, in ſome periods of the empire, in fact, a military republic. Sometimes it was ariſtocratical, and ſometimes deſpotic; but never any thing like an European monarchy. And the true ſpirit of politeneſs and gallantry, which took their riſe in modern monarchies, was unknown among them.

Stability could not be preſerved in monarchical governments, any more than in deſpotic ſtates, unleſs the ſubjects of them had a paſſionate regard for the true heir of the royal family; and the great happineſs of European monarchies ariſes from the order of ſucceſſion being abſolutely fixed, and univerſally known. While, in the progreſs of our ideas, in this northern part of the world, we were fluctuating between the right of

repreſentation, and nearneſs of blood; that is, whether, for inſtance, a younger ſon, or a minor grandſon by an elder ſon ſhould ſucceed to an inheritance (which was not generally ſettled, as it now is, in favour of the latter, that is of the right of repreſentation, as it is called, till about the twelfth century) every part of Europe was torn to pieces by civil wars.

It ſhould ſeem that monarchies, ſuch as ſubſiſt in Europe, are not proper for very extenſive dominion, though they admit a greater extent of territory than republics. Though the French nobility, fired with glory and emulation, can bear the fatigues and dangers of war, they would hardly, ſays Voltaire, ſubmit to languiſh in the garriſons of Hungary or Lithuania, forgotten at court, and ſacrificed to the intrigues of every minion, or miſtreſs, who approached the throne.

LECTURE XLIII.

Of the Permanence of Governments. The Balance of Power in States, particularly in England. Different Cauſes of Civil Wars. Hazard in Revolutions. Right of Reſiſtance. Extent of States. General Character of Stateſmen.

THE preſervation of any conſtitution of government muſt depend upon the reſpect which the people have for it; and it cannot be overturned till thoſe who have the power of doing

doing it are both diſpoſed to do it, and have an opportunity of effecting their purpoſe. But the common people, who have other objects to attend to, will, in general, bear a great deal before they feel themſelves diſpoſed to take the trouble, and run the riſk, of redreſſing public wrongs; and if they were ſo diſpoſed, they might be incapable of union. Whereas the governors of a country, being few, and having a common intereſt, can readily aſſemble, and take meaſures to keep themſelves in power. There are, therefore, few rebellions that ſucceed; and when they do, thoſe who have felt the grievance have ſeldom thought of the proper method of redreſs, or prevention; ſo that the chance of being well ſettled after a violent revolution is very ſmall. The people may be careful enough to avoid one extreme, but they will be in great danger of falling into another. Thus the rebellions againſt monarchy in Greece ended in republican forms of government, ſo ill conſtructed, that they ſuffered more under them than in the preceding tyrannies. The ſame was the caſe with many of the ſmall ſtates of Italy, when they emancipated themſelves from the authority of the German emperors. On the contrary, the ſubverſion of republics has generally produced tyrannies.

When a ſtate cannot be preſerved by the univerſal, or very general, deſire of the people, it may be ſaved by the balancing of thoſe powers which would tend to deſtroy it; and as all the different orders of men naturally wiſh for more power, and every individual wiſhes to riſe above his neighbour, all governments may, in fact, be conſidered as in this ſtate. It is therefore of importance ſo to arrange the different parts of the conſtitution, as that a ſtruggle for power may be prevented from having any dangerous effect. And perhaps it may be aſſerted, that the more diſtinct intereſts there are in a ſtate, the eaſier it

will be to preſerve the balance of power within it. For when there are only two intereſts, they will each have but one object, and any advantage they ſecure will not only be permanent, but be the means of gaining ſome farther advantage, till the whole be on one ſide. Whereas a third intereſt may preſerve the balance, if no one of the three be able to overpower the other two. In this caſe any one can give a decided ſuperiority to either of the other two parties, and yet may find its intereſt in preſerving its independence, and not uniting with either of them.

Our conſtitution is ſaid to have this advantage, as the power of the ſtate is lodged in the king, lords, and commons We are not, however, to be governed by *names*, but by *things*. Real *power* depends upon *opinion*, or *intereſt*. Regal power depends upon both. The mere *reſpect for a king*, in conſequence of his perſon being held ſacred, does alone, in ſome countries, render his perſon and his power inviolate, whatever exceſſes he be guilty of, as we may ſee in the hiſtory of the kings of Morocco. Something of this ſuperſtitious reſpect for royalty is found in this country, though there is much more of it in France. But beſides this, the power of our kings depends upon the power they have of attaching perſons to them by the diſpoſal of honours and lucrative offices, as well as by the wealth, of which, as individuals, they may be poſſeſſed. Theſe are the chief ſupports of the power of the crown in this country. If the king had nothing but his nominal right of a negative on the votes of both houſes of parliament, it would ſignify nothing. He would not be a king one day after he ſhould inſiſt upon it. But his *influence* is ſuch by other means, that nothing is ever preſented to him for his confirmation, which he is not previouſly acquainted with, and approves.

The

The power of the lords is better founded, as they have more real property, and more natural dependants. But in this country the property of the lords is now but little compared with that of the commons; and ſhould they take any part againſt the people, their privileges would ſoon be aboliſhed. But their influence in the houſe of commons, directly or indirectly, on the one hand, and with the king on the other, is ſuch, that there is no great danger of any bill being brought before them which they would find it their intereſt violently to oppoſe. Beſides, bodies of men will always concede to each other rather than riſk the conſequence of an open rupture.

The people in general, having had long experience of the benefit of this form of government, though great numbers of them are often aggrieved, and complain of the privileges of the nobility, or of the power of the crown; yet their repreſentatives being by no means unanimous, and the majority of them generally with the court, nothing can eaſily be effected in their favour.

As ſo much depends upon the houſe of commons, and ſo great a part of the real power of the crown itſelf depends upon its influence among them, it might ſeem to be in the power of the members to arrogate more to themſelves, and to exerciſe the very powers that they beſtow on others. Had they the power of perpetuating themſelves, there would be great danger of their attempting ſomething of this kind. But beſides that their power as individuals would be ſmall, and of no long continuance, they are only the deputies of the great body of the people, who reſpect the government as it is; ſo that however willing the members of the houſe of commons might be to take more power into their own hands, they could not do it. The *ſenſe of the people*, as we call it, though no nominal part of the conſtitution, is

often felt to be a real check upon public meaſures by whomſoever they are conducted; and though it is only expreſſed by talking, writing, and petitioning, yet tumults and inſurrections ſo often ariſe when the voice of the people is loud, that the moſt arbitrary governments dread the effects of them.

When governments are of long ſtanding, the acquieſcence in them is ſo general, that abuſes in them may riſe to a much greater height without endangering the conſtitution, than in new ones, which can have acquired no reſpect but from the perſuaſion of their utility; ſo that when forms of government have begun to change they have often gone on to change, and the country has been a long time in an unſettled ſtate, till the people, being weary of changes from which they have derived no benefit, are diſpoſed to acquieſce in any thing that is tolerable.

A great means of preventing abuſes of government, and thereby leſſening the danger of a ſubverſion of it, is the liberty of ſpeaking and writing. By this means the public opinion being known in good time, the abuſe will not riſe ſo high as to require a violent remedy. Governors may be teized by *libels*; but this is better than to be liable to be ſeized and ſtrangled before any danger be apprehended, which is the caſe in Turky and the Eaſt. There actions often precede words.

Contentions for power may be as diſtreſſing to a country as attempts to change its form of government. Such are all civil wars in the Eaſt, and ſuch were thoſe between the houſes of York and Lancaſter in this country, by which it ſuffered more than in the civil wars in the time of Charles I. the object of which was the redreſs of national grievances, and which terminated in a ſubverſion of the government in which they roſe.

In

In the former caſe it is the ambition of individuals that is the ſpring of action, and this could not operate unleſs there were ſuch ſtations of wealth and power in a country, as would furniſh an object for ſuch ambition. In a country, therefore, in which there are no ſuch ſtations (in which a man can enjoy for himſelf, and tranſmit to his poſterity, advantages much ſuperior to thoſe of the reſt of the community) the only object of ambition muſt be to *create* ſuch ſituations, by perſuading the people of the neceſſity, or the uſe, of them. For even force implies the voluntary concurrence of great numbers, who muſt have a proſpect of being gainers by a change, and with the advantage of force it will be more or leſs difficult, in proportion to the general prepoſſeſſion in favour of the preſent government.

In the monarchical ſtates of Europe it is highly improbable that any form of properly *equal government* ſhould be eſtabliſhed for many ages; the people in general, and eſpecially in France, being proud of their monarchs, even when they are oppreſſed by them. On the contrary, in North America, there ſeems to be no proſpect of the peaceable eſtabliſhment of any form of government, beſides one in which the rights of all ſhall be equal. The attachment of that country to the houſe of Hanover was formerly much ſtronger than that of this country in general. But the ſenſe of the whole country is now ſtrongly againſt monarchy in any form. They will hardly receive a ſtranger in the character of *king*, and there are no families of ſufficient diſtinction among themſelves.

A ſufficient degree of reverence for *any* form of government in the body of the people will ſecure the continuance of it. For a few could never overpower the many, and make any change which the great body of the people ſhould diſapprove of. But a government ought to be formed in ſuch a manner as

ſhould

ſhould be moſt likely to gain, and to preſerve, that degree of reſpect which will inſure its continuance. It ſhould provide againſt any man gaining that degree of power or influence, which would enable him to leſſen the reſpect for the conſtitution in the minds of his countrymen, and induce any conſiderable number of them, from a regard to their perſonal intereſt, to favour his ſchemes of innovation. For whenever any perſon ſhall be in a ſituation in which he can make it the intereſt of others to encreaſe his power, at the expence of the reſt of the community, we may preſume that he will ſucceed; ſince the generality of mankind will prefer their private intereſt to the public good. No government, therefore, can be expected to ſtand, the conſtitution of which does not make it the intereſt of the great body of the people to preſerve it, and even to watch over it, in order to prevent any encroachment upon it.

So much does the ſtability of government depend upon *opinion*, and ſo many are the elements, as we may ſay, that enter into the compoſition of ſuch opinions as theſe, that no wiſe man will pretend to foreſee the conſequences of any great change in a complex form of government; becauſe he could not tell how far the minds of great numbers of people would go along with his own in their approbation of it. This makes it prudent, when any great changes are made, to retain at leaſt the ancient *forms*, and *names of offices*. For to theſe it is, in a great meaſure, that the public opinion is attached. Though Cæſar and Auguſtus could ſafely aſſume the title of *emperor*, with the moſt deſpotic power, they did not dare to take that of *king*; and in this country Oliver Cromwell was contented with the ſtile of *protector*. In the Roman empire all the forms of the ancient free government were kept up, and it was always called a *republic*.

So

So much attached does the body of a people get to the forms of government, to which they have been long accuſtomed, that it will be impoſſible for them all at once to exchange a worſe for a better, and even which by its effects ſhould be acknowledged to be a better.

Though the governments of France and England were originally the ſame, or very nearly ſo, they are now become ſo different, and have been ſo long ſo, that it would be abſolutely impoſſible for the Engliſh conſtitution to be received in France, or the French in England. If the experiment could be made, the two nations would feel as aukwardly as would two men of a different make of body on exchanging clothes. If the change extended to the *minutiæ* of things, the new officers would not be able to act their parts without conſtant prompting; and to teach the people in general a knowledge of their new laws, would be no leſs difficult than teaching them a new language.

It is of the greateſt conſequence, therefore, that no change of importance be attempted in any long eſtabliſhed government, till the minds of the people be prepared for it by the experience of ſome inconvenience in the old one; ſo as to have produced a general wiſh for a change; and, if poſſible, it ſhould be made partially, and for a time, before it be finally eſtabliſhed.

An old and complex conſtitution of government may be compared to a part of the conſtitution of nature; ſince thoſe who are the moſt converſant with it may not fully underſtand it. As the oldeſt phyſician is not always able to preſcribe for himſelf, ſo the whole legiſlative body of any country are not to be truſted in their ſchemes of improvement. How many ſingle laws, paſſed with univerſal approbation, are obliged to be repealed, and in a very ſhort time, on account of inconveniences which the wiſeſt men could not foreſee? The operation of particular laws,

laws, and much more the influence of a whole ſyſtem of government, depends upon the principles of human nature, which are as yet but imperfectly underſtood.

There can be no doubt, however, but that every nation has a right to make whatever changes they pleaſe in the conſtitution of their government, and therefore to diſplace, and even to puniſh any governors, who are only their *ſervants*, for their abuſes of power, in whatever manner they may have been appointed. There cannot be a greater abſurdity than to ſuppoſe that the happineſs of a whole nation ſhould be ſacrificed to that of any individuals. It only behoves them, as they muſt neceſſarily be judges in their own cauſe, and as they would conſult their own future advantage, to proceed with great caution in any attempts to change their mode of government, or to puniſh their governors. The notion that kings reign by a *divine right*, independently of the deſignation of the people, and therefore that they are not accountable to them for the exerciſe of their power, is now univerſally and deſervedly exploded.

Provided ſtates be well conſtituted, and wiſely governed, it does not ſeem to be of much importance whether they be of great or ſmall *extent*; but if they be ill conſtituted, a country divided into ſmall ones will in general be a ſcene of the greateſt miſery. As it requires no more hands to direct the affairs of large ſtates than thoſe of ſmall ones, and great bodies of men are not eaſily put in motion, there is but little room for ambition in great empires. Conſequently individuals apply themſelves to their own affairs, and conſult their own happineſs, and never think of taking any part in public meaſures but on great emergencies, ſuch as may not occur in any one country in ſeveral centuries. But when ſtates are ſmall, many more perſons are within the influence of ambition, factions are formed,

animoſity is inflamed, and one party is ſeldom content, without the deſtruction or baniſhment of the other; as is abundantly exemplified in the hiſtory of the ſmall ſtates of Greece and Italy. If a great empire be tolerably well governed, private perſons have long intervals of peace, it being not ſo eaſy for ambitious and intereſted perſons to make a commotion, or a civil war, as in a ſmall ſtate.

If men underſtood their real intereſt, and conſequently ſaw it to conſiſt in living on good terms with their neighbours, ſmall ſtates might find no inconvenience even with reſpect to great undertakings. For where the wealth of one ſtate was not equal to any public work, in which a number was intereſted, they might all join to defray the expence. But while mankind are diſpoſed to national jealouſy and hoſtility, it is ſometimes of conſequence to extend the bounds of a ſtate; as for inſtance that of England over the whole iſland, including Wales and Scotland; becauſe it brings an increaſe of ſtrength, and, what is more, cuts off occaſions of war.

In all governments, the largeſt as well as the ſmalleſt, public buſineſs, as has been obſerved, will be done by a few, who have, either nominally the power of the ſtate in their hands, or who have gained the confidence of thoſe who have. The real effective perſons in the vaſt empire of Perſia, or of Rome, were not more in number than thoſe who tranſact the ſame kind of buſineſs in Holland or Venice, or even in ſmall towns and corporations; and thoſe who do this buſineſs are not always thoſe who are eſteemed to be the wiſeſt, or the moſt upright, but generally the moſt ambitious and buſtling. Intelligent and well diſpoſed perſons will not always give themſelves the trouble which ſtations of public truſt neceſſarily require, and therefore eaſily give

way to thoſe who are willing to take it upon them, and whoſe intereſt or ambition puſhes them on to do it.

Conſidering how much *intereſt* and *ambition* are gratified by directing the affairs of nations, and how much more violently and ſteadily mankind in general are impelled by theſe principles than by any other, we cannot be ſurprized to find hardly any other than men of theſe characters in places of truſt and power; and of the two, *ambition* certainly makes a better ſtateſman than avarice. The views of the former muſt have a connexion with the good of his country, though it be not his proper object; but the views of the latter may be the very reverſe of it. No country, therefore, ought to complain if they have nothing to lay to the charge of their governors beſides ambition, or the deſire of diſtinguiſhing themſelves and their families, and eſtabliſhing a name with diſtant nations and poſterity, provided the rights of individuals be not ſacrificed to it.

LECTURE XLIV.

How much Government under any Form is preferable to a State of Barbariſm. Refinement in Men's Ideas keeping Pace with Improvements in Government. The European Governments (and particularly the Engliſh) traced from their firſt Riſe in Germany to their preſent Form. The Conſtitution of the ancient German States. State of their Armies. Diviſion of the conquered Lands. Upon what Terms held. How Feuds became hereditary. How the Clergy became an eſſential Part of the State. Upon what Terms the great Lords diſpoſed of their Lands. Taxes of the feudal Times. Power of a Lord over his Vaſſals. Why allodial Eſtates became converted into Feudal. When this took place in England. The Method of adminiſtering Juſtice. Where the ſupreme Power was lodged.

THERE can be no doubt but that *government* under any of the before-mentioned forms is infinitely preferable to a ſtate of *barbariſm* and *anarchy*. Idleneſs, treachery and cruelty are predominant in all uncivilized countries; notwithſtanding the boaſts which the poets make of the *golden age* of mankind, before the erection of empires: and their vices and bad habits loſe ground in proportion as mankind arrive at ſettled and regular forms of government. There is no borrowing in barbarous countries, ſays Monteſquieu, but upon pledges; ſo little influence have ideas of property, and a ſenſe of honour, over uncivilized people. Never were treachery and cruelty more fla-

grant than in thoſe unſettled times of the Saxon government in England, during the ravages of the Danes, and particularly in the long reign of Ethelred. Whatever vices civilized countries may abound in, there is no man, ſays Voltaire, who would think his life and property ſo ſecure in the hands of a Moor, or a Tartar, as in thoſe of a French or Engliſh gentleman.

That mankind have not naturally any high ideas of the *forms of Juſtice* is evident, ſays Monteſquieu, from many facts in hiſtory. Nothing was more inſupportable to the Germans than the tribunal of Varus; and Mithridates, haranguing againſt the Romans, reproached them with the formalities of their law. As to idleneſs, all uncivilized nations are notorious for it. The barbarous troops which the Romans hired could not without great difficulty be brought to ſubmit to the Roman diſcipline and fatigue. Till about the time of the reformation, the Scotch, as they were the moſt uncivilized, were the moſt indolent people in Europe, and thoſe people that are called the wild Iriſh are to this day extremely averſe to all kinds of labour. Hence it is that in all uncivilized countries cattle, which propagate of themſelves, bear a much lower price than corn, which requires more art, labour, and ſtock to raiſe it than ſuch people are poſſeſſed of.

We are not, however, to conſider all countries as *barbarous*, that are not policied as ours, and other great nations, are. Where there are no regular laws, eſtabliſhed *cuſtoms* may have the ſame effect, and be as much reſpected. And in countries where there is but little property, the inconvenience of this more free mode of life is very ſlight. As the neceſſary attendant on having little property is little labour, many perſons are particularly pleaſed with it.

The North American Indians are remarkably fond of their roving way of life, in which, though they occaſionally make the

the greateſt exertions, they are not obliged to conſtant labour. "Nor can we ſay," ſays Mr. Charlevoix, "that this is owing "to their not being acquainted with our modes of life. Many "Frenchmen have tried their way of life, and were ſo pleaſed "with it, that ſeveral of them, though they could have lived "very comfortably in the colonies, could never be prevailed "upon to return to it. On the contrary, there never was ſo "much as a ſingle Indian that could be brought to reliſh our "way of living. Children have been taken, and have been "brought up with a great deal of care, nothing had been "omitted to hinder them from having any knowledge of their "parents; yet the moment they have found themſelves at "liberty, they have torn their cloaths to pieces, and have gone "acroſs the woods in queſt of their countrymen. An Iroquois "was even a lieutenant in our army, yet he returned to his "own nation, carrying with him only our vices, without cor-"recting any of thoſe which he brought along with him*." The roving life of the Tartars is peculiarly pleaſing to them. It is entertaining, ſays Mr. Bell †, to hear them commiſerate thoſe who were confined to one place of abode, and obliged to ſupport themſelves by labour.

There can hardly be a more entertaining object to a ſpeculative mind than to mark the *progreſs of refinement* in the ideas of a people emerging from a ſtate of barbariſm, and advancing by degrees to a regular form of government. There is, in particular, a natural connexion between government and ideas of property. From the weak and infantine ſtate in which both are originally found, both of them have arrived, by equal de-

* Charlevoix, vol. ii. p. 109. † Travels, vol. i. p. 450.

grees

grees of improvement, at the ſtability and perfection which they enjoy at preſent.

A knowledge of this ſubject enables us to account for many facts in ancient hiſtory. In ancient times, the property of land was not ſo valuable a right as it is at preſent. It was little better than a right of *uſufruct*, or a power of uſing the fruits for the ſupport of the poſſeſſor and his family. And as the manner of living in ancient times was much more ſimple than it is now, the accounts we read of the diviſion of lands by Lycurgus, and other ancient legiſlators, are more credible than they would appear from judging according to the preſent ideas of mankind. Timoleon, when he ſettled the affairs of the Syracuſans and Selinuntians, whoſe country was greatly depopulated, invited over forty thouſand men from Greece, and diſtributed ſo many lots of land among them, to the great ſatisfaction of the old inhabitants.

Whenever we read of great ſimplicity in the manner of tranſmitting land property, we may pronounce with certainty, that the people are not far advanced in the arts of life. A more particular account will be given of the progreſs of men's ideas and cuſtoms with reſpect both to this ſubject and ſome others, when we come to treat of *laws*. In this account of the ſtate of barbarous nations we muſt not omit obſerving, that it is a ſtrong indication of the approach of the northern nations towards humanity and politeneſs, that their compoſitions for injuries done to women were generally double.

The progreſs and revolutions of government itſelf, after it is once eſtabliſhed, is an object very deſerving of the cloſeſt attention. No government ever underwent more revolutions than the Roman, and hiſtory affords the faireſt opportunity of tracing

them in all their cauſes and effects; as has been done in an excellent manner by Monteſquieu, in his treatiſe on the riſe and declenſion of the Romans.

It is no leſs entertaining to trace the European monarchies, particularly the Engliſh, from their firſt rudiments in the woods of Germany, to their preſent ſtate. But hiſtory affords little light for this purpoſe, and therefore learned men have adopted different hypotheſes about ſeveral particulars relating to it; and the reigning party prejudices have made them enter with too much keenneſs and animoſity into a ſubject which exhibits a moſt agreeable proſpect to a philoſopher living under thoſe governments.

As an example of the progreſs of government, I ſhall trace as briefly as poſſible all the capital changes in the conſtitution of the principal European governments, and particularly the Engliſh; beginning with their firſt rude ſtate in their native country, and comprehending the riſe, progreſs, and decline of the *feudal ſyſtem*, which prevailed wherever thoſe barbarous invaders ſettled. I ſhall not ſtop to prove, or to refute, any particular hypotheſis, but proceed without interruption in that account which to me appears the moſt probable.

Germany was formerly divided into *nations*, and the nations into *pagi*, each of which had its own prince, judge, or general. The power of each of the pagi was lodged in the aſſembly of all the freemen of the pagus, and the power of the whole nation in the general aſſembly of that nation.

Every man's own family and ſlaves were entirely ſubject to him. All the lands were annually divided among all the freemen, who parcelled it out to their ſlaves and dependants upon certain conditions, always reſerving enough of the yearly produce to maintain their own families in abundance.

Each

Each prince was attended by an indefinite number of freemen volunteers, who were maintained at his expence, and fought with him in battle. The ſons alſo of thoſe who had diſtinguiſhed themſelves by acts of valour had the like attendants. They were called *companions*, or *ambacti*; in the ſouthern parts of Gaul *Soldurii*, and afterwards in England *Thanes*, and they lived ſcattered up and down the country. When they went to war, the troops of every tribe and province fought under the ſame ſtandard, divided, probably, into thouſands, hundreds, fifties, and tens, each of which companies had its own commander.

The prince, where there was one, had a larger diviſion of land, and a greater proportion of all fines, which were impoſed for all crimes except treaſon and adultery. His office was for life.

At the general aſſembly, every freeman had an equal vote. Upon ordinary occaſions the pagi might ſend their leaders, but upon extraordinary occaſions every freeman was obliged to be preſent under the ſevereſt penalties. Then peace and war were proclaimed, ambaſſadors ſent, and the common general choſen, and to this aſſembly all inferior officers were accountable for their behaviour. No perſon could bear arms for the public till he had been preſented here. The princes of each diſtrict prepared matters for this aſſembly, as a ſtanding council of ſtate, and to them all ambaſſadors, &c. applied. The Druids, who were the only prieſts, and the chief nobility, in the country, and who were exempt from all ſecular incumbrances, and maintained at the common charge, preſided in the aſſembly.

All the freemen ſerved in the army without pay, and the general was not quite abſolute, being often reſtrained by his council, and by his companions.

When

When a conqueſt was made, the general and council divided the land into as many parts as there were pagi in the army. Theſe again were divided by their proper chiefs among the ſeveral families, according to their rank and eſteem. Some ſuppoſe that the lands of the pagi became *counties*, the ſhare of a thouſand a *tything*, the ſhare of one hundred an *hundred*, and that of ten a *tything*; each under its own eoldorman. But Mr. Millar ſeems to have proved that a *tything* was the ſame thing with a *village*, and did not comprehend any preciſe number of perſons or families. This however might come to be the caſe in a courſe of time, though the original diſtribution might be according to the number of perſons or families.

So long as their conqueſts were in the leaſt inſecure, and conſequently they had occaſion for the continual exerciſe of arms, the whole body of the migrating people preſerved the idea of the encampment of a large army. The office of general, from being occaſional, became of courſe perpetual, that is, he was a *king*, but elective, as before. Every freeman was ready at the military call, and every grant of lands was upon condition of military ſervice.

Land thus diſtributed was called *thane land*, or *bock land*, the poſſeſſors, *Thanes*; and every particular inheritance, a *feoh* or *feud*, in Latin *beneficium*.

As long as the moſt diſtant view to their native country remained to theſe Germans, in theſe foreign ſettlements, poſſeſſions could not regularly deſcend to a man's heirs, who might not be able to defend them; but by degrees, as valour ceaſed to be neceſſary, from the ſecurity of their conqueſts, feuds became hereditary. Then thoſe who held immediately of the king were called *tenants in capite*, and were obliged to attend the king's courts, in the ſame manner as every perſon who held land of another attended the court of his immediate ſuperior.

When chriſtianity was introduced among theſe nations, grants of land were made to the church, and the biſhops held them as all other tenants did, upon condition of military ſervice. But afterwards they held lands in what was called *frankal moigne*, when only alms to the poor, and prayers, were required of them. Thoſe of the ſuperior clergy who held lands immediately of the king were *tenants in capite*, and obliged, as ſuch, to give attendance in the king's courts.

The greater Thanes granted lands out of their diviſion to their immediate friends and followers, in the ſame manner as they received them, and their beneficiaries were called *vaſſals*. Of theſe, however, only ſome received grants upon condition of military ſervice, others (though theſe were probably ſuch as had been in a ſtate of ſervitude) choſe to follow huſbandry, and were called *ſockmen*. Theſe held their lands upon condition of aſſiſting their lord in his ploughing and reaping. But afterwards, inſtead of the actual ſervice of the plough, they ſupplied their lord with corn, cattle, and clothes, and laſtly *money*, as an equivalent for them.

The ground which lay neareſt to the habitation of every freeman was given to the care of his own ſlaves, who tilled the ground for him. Theſe were called *villeins*, and went with the ſoil, having no liberty either to leave their maſters, or quit the place.

All the taxes which the feudal laws obliged vaſſals to pay to their ſuperiors, Thanes to the king, and their vaſſals to them, were upon the three following occaſions; when his eldeſt ſon was made a knight, when his eldeſt daughter was married, and to ranſom him when he was taken priſoner.

Every lord was ſupreme judge of his own vaſſals, and always their general in time of war. When his power of judge was abuſed, all capital caſes were referred to ſuperior juriſdiction, or to ſuch

ſuch perſons as the king ſent from time to time to aſſiſt the great men in the diſtribution of juſtice, and to ſee that he was not wronged in his ſhare of the fines, which was generally one third.

Lands which were not diſtributed to the free ſoldiers, but which were left in the hands of the old inhabitants, or were occupied by new comers, were called *allodial*, or *folk lands*, and the occupiers were governed by the king who ſent a *rive*, or *eoldorman*, who was always to be a proprietor of bock land, to preſide over them. To him was afterwards added another ſtanding magiſtrate, called the *heterock*, whoſe office reſembled that of lord lieutenant in the county; whereas the office of our preſent *ſheriffs* was derived from the other. This *rive*, or *ſheriff*, held the *rive mote*, *ſcyre mote*, or *folk mote*, and thane land is ſometimes called *rive land*.

Both the king's vaſſals, and thoſe of the greater lords had greater privileges than the poſſeſſors of allodial eſtates. Among others, their lives were rated higher. Wherefore thoſe perſons who poſſeſſed allodial eſtates often choſe, for their greater ſecurity, to put themſelves under the protection of ſome powerful lord. When this was done univerſally, the *feudal ſyſtem* may be ſaid to be fully eſtabliſhed; which was not the caſe in England till the time of William the Conqueror. Then, too, eſtates firſt deſcended entire to the eldeſt ſon, whereas before they had been equally divided among all the ſons. An equal diviſion did not ſuit the intereſt of the great feudatorial lords, who were more effectually and expeditiouſly ſerved by one powerful vaſſal, or a few ſuch, than by many weak ones, depending immediately upon themſelves.

In the Saxon times, the landholders of every province met at leaſt twice every year in the ſcyre mote. In this court cauſes

of religion were firſt heard, then pleas of the crown, and laſtly private cauſes; and ſentence was given by the preſidents, who were the earl, the biſhop, and the king's deputy.

In the time of Alfred juries were introduced into the Engliſh courts. He alſo completed the diviſion of the country into counties, tythings, and hundreds, and made other excellent regulations for the more effectual adminiſtration of juſtice.

The legiſlative power of the whole community, and alſo the power of peace and war was, in the Saxon times, lodged in the aſſembly of the whole nation, called the *folkmote*, or *mycelgemote*, in which every proprietor of land, at leaſt to the amount of five hides, had a power of voting. To this there was a *wittenagemote*, conſiſting of the king's companions, or thanes, the governors of the ſeveral counties, and after the introduction of chriſtianity, biſhops, and others of the ſuperior clergy.

Probably, however, the *mycelgemote* and *wittenagemote* might conſiſt of the ſame perſons; the former being the regular aſſembly of the whole body at ſtated times, and the latter thoſe who uſually attended on any particular call; and thoſe would be ſuch as were neareſt the king, perſons in whoſe wiſdom and experience the greateſt truſt was repoſed, by himſelf, and the nation at large.

The change of allodial into feudal eſtates made a change in the great council of the nation. In the former caſe the landholders aſſembled in their own right, in the latter as the dependants on the crown. But the change having been gradual, and thoſe who aſſembled by different rights probably meeting at the ſame ſame time and place, it is not particularly noticed by hiſtorians.

The mycelgemote, it is ſaid, ſometimes altered the ſucceſſion to the crown. It is certain that the Saxon kings had not the

ſame

ſame power that was afterwards acquired by our princes. Their lives were rated no higher than thoſe of any other freeman. The king aſſembled the mycelgemote upon extraordinary occaſions, and ordinarily that aſſembly met in the ſpring. The moſt conſiderable branch of the royal office was the appointing the chief offices of church and ſtate, as governors of counties, biſhops, abbots, &c.

It is alſo ſaid by ſome, that, upon particular occaſions, there was alſo a *panangliçum* in the Saxon heptarchy, when commanders in chief of the whole nation were choſen.

LECTURE XLV.

In what Circumſtances the Feudal Syſtem acquired Strength. The Violence and Inſecurity of thoſe Times. Inconſiſtent with Commerce. Balance of Power of thoſe Times. Wager of Battle. Private Confederacies. Knight Errantry. Cauſes of the Decline of the Feudal Syſtem. Expenſive Wars. Progreſs of the Arts. Improvements in the Art of War.

IN countries which were perpetually in a ſtate of war, the feudal ſyſtem acquired ſtrength, and became more analogous to itſelf in all its parts. Thus, in England, during the Saxon times, we ſee only the general outlines of it, but in Normandy, about the time of William the Conqueror, it was in its perfection,

fection, and in that ſtate it was by him introduced into England. Then, when the intereſt of the lord was the ſtrongeſt in his fief (except that it was hereditary, and he could not refuſe entrance to the proper heir) it could not be alienated without his conſent; becauſe it was unreaſonable that he ſhould have a vaſſal who was diſagreeable to him obtruded upon him. The heireſs could not marry without his conſent for the ſame reaſon. Upon theſe, and a variety of other occaſions, the ſuperior lord (who is generally called *lord paramount*) inſiſted upon large fines from his vaſſals, which kept the common people in a ſtate of the moſt abject dependence upon a few great land-holders.

It is not to be wondered, therefore, that no flouriſhing cities, no extenſive commerce, no encouragement for the polite arts, was ever found under governments purely feudal. Indeed, the whole ſcene of the feudal times was too full of war and confuſion to admit of theſe improvements. The different orders of vaſſalage gave riſe to numberleſs quarrels and proceſſes, which could only be decided by force of arms.

Every lord in thoſe days, having independent juriſdiction, and his own vaſſals immediately devoted to him, was in fact a petty ſovereign; and a few of theſe in a country were generally an over-match for the king, and often occaſioned the greateſt diſorders. Perhaps never was there a worſe government, or a government in which there was leſs proviſion for the ſecurity and happineſs of the bulk of people, than in this. Had not religion, or rather ſuperſtition, provided an aſylum to a few, thoſe times in which the feudal ſyſtem was at its height, would have been nothing more than perfect anarchy and confuſion. Thefts, rapine, murders and diſorders of all kinds, prevailed in every kingdom of Europe to a degree almoſt incredible,

dible, and ſcarce compatible with the ſubſiſtence of civil ſociety. Every offender ſheltered himſelf under ſome chieftain, who ſcreened him from juſtice*.

Many of the moſt renowned commanders in the reign of Edward III. and the following reigns, had been leaders of banditti; and it was uſual for princes who could not ſubdue them, to enter into treaties with them, and to be ſupplied by them with many thouſands of men. A great part of the Engliſh forces in France were generally of this kind of men. When Edward III. commanded an army of an hundred thouſand men in Flanders, they were ſaid to have been chiefly foreigners.

Voltaire ſays that about the time of Otho, every caſtle was a capital of a ſmall ſtate of banditti, and every monaſtery an armed garriſon; the harveſts were either burnt, cut down before the time, or defended ſword in hand; the cities were reduced in a manner to deſerts, and the country depopulated by frequent and long famines.

A circumſtance which kept things tolerably well balanced, with reſpect to public liberty, and which prevented the power of any one from oppreſſing the reſt, was the number of powers and intereſts which were perpetually ſtruggling for ſuperiority. The

* The power of the great feudal lords aroſe from the great numbers of perſons who were attached to them; and this attachment aroſe from their being wholly dependent upon them. They were either their tenants, or were kept without labour by their liberality. An ancient baron could make no other uſe of his ſuperfluity. At preſent an Engliſh nobleman may be richer than any ancient baron, being able to command the labour of more perſons, by paying them wages; but as theſe perſons are only employed by him occaſionally, and they all ſerve others as well as him, they have no attachment to him in particular. If he did not employ them, they would not ſtarve, and therefore they feel themſelves as independent of him, as he is of them. In fact, no perſons are more independent than thoſe who are willing to labour, and are ſure of finding employment.

king conducted himſelf by one ſet of principles, the barons by another, the clergy by a third, and the commons by a fourth. All their views were incompatible, and each prevailed according as incidents were favourable to it. The clergy in general held a very uſeful middle place, checking the power of the king, or of the barons, according as either of them prevailed too much, and threatened their privileges, and the general liberty of the ſtate; though it was the former only that they were concerned about.

When the feudal ſyſtem had taken place, and not before; and conſequently when (there being no effectual proviſion to reſtrain violence) it had been ſo cuſtomary for people to terminate their differences by the ſword, and even law-ſuits had ſo often terminated in this, which, according to the barbarous notions of thoſe times, was deemed the moſt honourable way of deciding them, that the laws themſelves were obliged to adopt that method of deciſion. It came into England with William the Conqueror, and prevailed for ſeveral centuries in all parts of Europe; and it was certainly better to reſtrain, and ſubject to the rules of a court, that ſword which would have raged, and have committed greater devaſtation elſewhere.

The civil union in theſe feudal times being weak, private confederacies were entered into, to ſupply its place. At length *knight errantry* aroſe in thoſe days of univerſal danger. When all travelling was unſafe, and particularly no women could appear abroad without being raviſhed or murdered, ſome perſons of ſpirit and humanity, and deeply tinctured with the religion of the times, devoted themſelves to the public good, and particularly to the ſervice of the ladies. This profeſſion ſoon becoming honourable, and great numbers engaged in it, which contributed greatly to ſoften the rigour of the times.

As

As the moſt remarkable inſtances of hoſpitality are ſeen in the moſt inhoſpitable and barbarous countries, ſo thoſe times of univerſal anarchy produced the greateſt exceſſes of heroiſm, ſuch, indeed, as could only exiſt in thoſe circumſtances. For theſe flights of heroiſm are uſeleſs, and therefore checked, in well regulated governments.

The practice of tilts and tournaments, which gave a dignity to the order of knighthood, and afforded the fineſt field for the exerciſe of valour, were introduced from the gallant courts of the Mooriſh kings in Spain.

So deep rooted was the paſſion for chivalry, that it infected the writings, converſation, and behaviour of men for ſome ages; and when the ideas belonging to it vaniſhed, as government grew more perfect, and learning and true taſte revived, it left modern gallantry and the point of honour, which ſtill maintain their influence, and are the genuine offspring of thoſe cuſtoms. The ſuperſtition and valour of the knights errant were of excellent ſervice in the wars of the Holy Land, and againſt the Saracens in Spain.

We have now advanced to the full growth of the feudal ſyſtem. Let us from hence mark the ſeveral ſteps by which it declined, and ſee how order roſe out of this chaos and confuſion. And here the principal circumſtance to be attended to is the diminution of the power of the ariſtocratical feudal lords, by the diſmembering of their eſtates, and the more equal diſtribution of property among the lower orders of the people, with the gradual acquiſition of power by the ſeveral ſovereigns of Europe.

One conſiderable means of bringing about this great event was the expenſive wars which were carried on in thoſe days, particularly the expeditions to the Holy Land, which made the

great lords and land-holders willing to ſell their lands for large ſums of ready money; and by degrees they obtained ſtatutes to favour theſe alienations.

Moreover, when, in conſequence of the progreſs of arts, induſtry, and manufactures, the feudal manners gave way to ſome degree of luxury, ſuperiors were willing to give lands at very low rents, in conſideration of large ſums delivered at one payment. Theſe rents became lower and lower, till at laſt nothing but a ſimple *acknowledgment* was made for them.

Improvements in the art of war made the whole ſyſtem of the feudal government, as adapted to military affairs, entirely uſeleſs. The hereditary lords were not always found to be the moſt proper commanders, nor their vaſſals the beſt diſciplined troops. It was therefore eaſily agreed on both ſides, to ſend deputies inſtead of perſonal ſervice, and at laſt to commute for a ſum of money. This practice gave riſe to *ſtanding armies*, which threw a vaſt weight of power into the hands of the ſovereign, which was before entirely in the hands of the lords. Lewis XIV. once in his reign ſummoned the nobility to appear in arms, according to the feudal ſyſtem, but the troops they brought were ſo ignorant of diſcipline, that the cuſtom was for ever after laid aſide in France. By this means tenures by knights ſervice ſinking, and, in conſequence of the progreſs of arts and induſtry, that of villeinage riſing; both came gradually to the medium of ſockage tenures, which extended themſelves continually over landed property in Great Britain.

LECTURE XLVI.

Riſe of Corporations. Greater and leſſer Barons. State of Land Property and the Alienation of it. When, and by what Means, the great Blow was given to the Feudal Syſtem by the Diminution of the Power of the greater Barons in different Parts of Europe. The Riſe of the Engliſh Commons. The Declenſion of the Syſtem not equal in all Parts of Europe. Not the ſame in Scotland as in England. The Reaſons for it. The Remains of it at preſent in different Parts of Europe, and with us. General Obſervations on the Progreſs and Termination of the Feudal Syſtem.

IN proceſs of time, ſocieties of artiſans, which originally were conſidered as belonging to the lord of the ſoil on which they lived, taking advantage of the neceſſity of the times, and their own increaſing riches, gained certain privileges and immunities from their lords, till at length they became independent of them. Theſe *corporations* are ſaid to have been the invention of Lewis le Gros, to free the people from the ſlavery to their lords, and to give them protection by means of certain privileges, and a ſeparate juriſdiction.

Philip Le Bel, king of France, was the firſt who in 1301, admitted with great policy the inhabitants of cities to have a ſeat in the ſtates of the kingdom, after the clergy and nobility. His view was to facilitate the juriſdiction which he wanted to eſtabliſh over thoſe cities, and to engage them to conſent to the impoſition of a tax for carrying on his wars in

Flanders, and for oppoſing the ambitious views of Boniface VIII. Accordingly, Sir Jam. Stewart ſays *, the people began to pay willingly, when they found they had a vote in what concerned them.

In England theſe corporations grew to great conſideration, and many of them coming to hold lands of the king by a tenure called *burgage*, became of courſe *tenants in capite*, and, as ſuch, were ſummoned to appear by their deputies at the great council of the nation, along with the repreſentatives of the leſſer barons; that is, thoſe perſons who had purchaſed parts of baronies, but were not able to bear the expence of attending the king's courts. The greater barons were perſons of ancient families, who kept their original fiefs in a great meaſure undivided. The titles which theſe greater barons obtained, as of dukes, earls, viſcounts, and marquiſſes were introduced by degrees, and were all originally official and territorial, though afterwards they became perſonal, and, like the feuds, hereditary; even the the term *baron* itſelf, came at length to be merely honorary.

In the ſtruggle between the crown and the barons, the conſtitutional rights of the commons ſeem to have received a temporary interruption; their aſſembling in parliament being leſs frequent and leſs effectual, and at length altogether ſuſpended. Under our king John and Henry III. their privileges were revived, and the forty-ninth of Henry III. and the twenty-third of Edward I. which have been conſidered as æras of the eſtabliſhment of the commons, Dr. Stewart ſays †, were only memorable epochas in their hiſtory.

It was among the corporations above-mentioned that ſocial and civil connexions firſt extended themſelves in the feudal

* Vol. ii. p. 355.

† Eſſay on the Conſtitution of England, p. 17.

times.

times. The people who were members of theſe communities, being moſt remote from a military life and military notions, firſt found the advantage of a more extenſive power over their property than the feudal cuſtoms admitted. It was conſequently with them that alienation of property, both in lands and goods, in all its varieties and forms, both during the life, and after the death of the proprietor, firſt took place; and other laws adapted to a more perfect ſtate of ſociety were firſt enacted for their uſe, long before the reſt of the nation had the benefit of them; though, at length, after their example, they prevailed univerſally. But through the whole ſtate, the intereſt of the ſuperior lord in the fief grew gradually leſs and leſs. For whereas, at firſt, fiefs reverted to their lord after the death of the proprietor, then, after that of his ſon, and then of his grandſon; by practice, without public ordinance, it crept into the law of all nations, that in all fiefs a man's collateral relations, as well as his direct deſcendants, *ad infinitum*, ſhould ſucceed him; and though the progreſs of *alienation* was ſometimes checked by laws relating to *entails*, yet methods were ſtill found out, and connived at, to elude thoſe ſtatutes; and all attempts to prevent the progreſs of the free alienation of landed property was ſtriving againſt the torrent.

In this train things continued for ſeveral centuries, till towards the end of the fifteenth century, and the beginning of the ſixteenth, almoſt all the princes in Europe, as if by conſent, attacked the power of the nobles. Lewis XI. of France added to the crown what he wreſted from the lords, but Henry VII. threw it into the hands of the commons of England.

Some of the means which Henry uſed were paſſing an act which allowed lords to ſell or mortage their lands, without paying any fines for alienation, and the reſtraining them from keeping

keeping a great number of idle retainers about them, who were men who lived at their expence, were entirely devoted to them, and ready to engage in all their quarrels.

But little of the merit of theſe laws is due to him. He meant only to leſſen the exorbitant power of the barons, which was formidable to the crown: and the circumſtances of the times were quite ripe for every alteration which he made for that purpoſe. The barons themſelves wanted to diſpoſe of their lands for money, to enable them to live with more elegance, and to enjoy more of the conveniences of life, which were then firſt introduced; and their idle retainers were become a burden to them, while the country ſtood in great need of their labour, when agriculture began to be attended to.

The benefit of theſe ſtatutes was not ſenſibly perceived in England till the reign of queen Elizabeth, though the commons had availed themſelves greatly of the ſale of thoſe lands which had belonged to the monaſteries in the preceding reign. But it was in the reign of Elizabeth that the commons firſt ventured to approach the throne of their own motion, and give advice to the crown. Unhappily, the attempts of our princes to oppreſs this riſing power occaſioned ſuch a ſtruggle between them and the people as ended in a temporary anarchy. At the reſtoration king Charles was induced to remit ſome of his feudal claims, but the conſtitution was not ſettled; and perhaps it never would have been done effectually, had not the bigotry of James II. engaged him in the fruitleſs attempt to ſubvert the religion and liberty of his country. This happily ended in his abdication, and the ſettlement of the crown on the more diſtant branches of the family upon new and ſurer principles, as was taken notice of before.

The

The feudal ſyſtem did not, however, decline equally faſt in all parts of Europe. It generally loſt ground in time of peace, and ſometimes rather gained in time of war; though in ſome caſes the ſovereigns, preſſed by the neceſſity of foreign wars, were induced, in conſideration of preſent ſupplies, to grant important privileges to the people, and particularly to the boroughs. Theſe neceſſities of the princes were the occaſion of many equitable laws and popular conceſſions.

The feudal ſyſtem did not decline ſo faſt in Scotland as in England, nor, while it was a ſeparate kingdom, did their commons ever acquire the ſame power. The reaſons of this were, that the Scots had little commerce, induſtry, and arts. All their members met in the ſame houſe, and the kings vaſſals were not increaſed upon the diſmembering a royal fief, as was the cuſtom in England. Beſides, none could vote but thoſe who had much more fortune than was required in England, and the election of repreſentatives was in the common council, and not in the whole body of the burgeſſes. Heritable juriſdictions were not entirely aboliſhed in Scotland till the end of the laſt rebellion.

There are conſiderable remains of the feudal ſyſtem at this day in Europe. In Germany it ſubſiſts, in many reſpects, as much as ever. The huſbandmen of Poland are confined to the glebe; as they are alſo in Bohemia, in Suabia, and in other parts of Germany; and even in France, in ſome provinces remote from the capital, we ſee, ſays Voltaire, ſome remains of this ſlavery. There are ſome chapters and monks who claim a right to all the goods of the deceaſed peaſants, and the barbarous right of *aubeine*, by which a ſtranger beholds his father's eſtate go to the king's treaſury ſtill ſubſiſts in ſome chriſtian ſtates, unleſs where it is otherwiſe provided for by private conventions.

The moſt viſible traces of this ſyſtem in England are in the forms of law. The feudal law carried with it a ſyſtem of private rights, which ſwallowed up all others wherever it came, and involved likewiſe, in giving effect to theſe rights, a ſyſtem of *forms*, which remain even when the original rights are no more.

What is particularly worthy of our notice, with reſpect to the feudal ſyſtem, is that a form of government ſo uniform in its principles ſhould have branched out, as it were, under different circumſtances, into other forms ſo totally different from one another as are the conſtitutions of the ſeveral European ſtates; which were almoſt all originally equally feudal, and therefore neceſſarily ſimilar to one another.

That the kings of Arragon were originally little more than members of an equal ariſtocracy, is evident from the very form of their inauguration, which was this, "We," (viz. the lords) "who are equal with yourſelf, do conſtitute you our king, on "condition that you maintain our privileges." The French government, it is certain, differed in nothing material from the Engliſh, during the whole period of our ancient wars with that nation, and their *aſſembly of the ſtates*, as it was called, had as much power as our *parliament*. The laſt aſſembly of this kind in France was held ſo late as the year 1614. On the other hand, the Poliſh lords have rather gained than loſt any power; and in this country, were it not that neigbouring nations are more improved, and that the progreſs of ſcience has ſoftened the manners and cuſtoms of all the nations of Europe, we ſhould ſee all the miſery and diſtraction of the feudal times. Still they often fight over their deliberations; and the election of a king frequently occaſions both civil and foreign wars.

But

But what is moſt of all remarkable with reſpect to the feudal ſyſtem is, that a form of government ſo ill calculated to ſecure the moſt valuable ends of ſociety; a conſtitution ſo totally inconſiſtent with ſecurity and liberty, and ſo unfriendly to commerce and ſcience, ſhould, in ſeveral inſtances, have terminated, by the natural courſe of things, in governments in which men enjoy the greateſt ſecurity, together with all deſirable liberty; and where the utmoſt ſcope is given to the genius of man in the extenſion of arts, manufactures, commerce, and ſcience.

LECTURE XLVII.

Of Laws. Multiplicity of them. Uniformity of them. Force of Cuſtom. Criminal Law. Difference in Crimes. Liberty ſometimes unfavourable to perſonal Security. Puniſhments. Speedy Executions. Prevention of Crimes. Lenity and Severity. Proper Objects of criminal Law. Proſecutors. Judges. Evidence. Wager of Battle. Falſe Accuſation.

IN conſidering what contributes to the happineſs of a ſociety at home, the ſubject of *laws* ought principally to be attended to by an hiſtorian; as being certainly next, in point of importance, to the form and conſtitution of government, which may be ſaid to comprize the greater laws of the ſtate.

The great difference between a country governed by *laws*, and one governed by *men*, is that in the former every man knows

what he has to expect. *Laws* bear a fixed and definite ſenſe, ſo that all men are puniſhed or rewarded alike in the ſame circumſtances; but *men* are ſubject to caprice, ſo that it cannot be known before hand how the ſame judge will be diſpoſed to decide, and much leſs will one man's conduct be a rule for that of another.

A multiplicity of laws is a certain attendant upon an improved ſtate of ſociety. For the more multiplied and intimate are the connexions of men with one another, the more laws are neceſſary to regulate their mutual tranſactions. When men's intereſts frequently interfere, diſputes muſt frequently happen; and if the ſubjects of the diſputes be various, the laws which are introduced to adjuſt them muſt be various too. Nor is there any method of obviating this but the arbitrary and ſpeedy deciſion of all differences by deſpotic power, as in Perſia, and other parts of Aſia, where juſtice has ever been adminiſtered in the moſt expeditious manner. But this, as was ſhewn before, is a very unhappy and imperfect ſtate of ſociety. It is a famous obſervation of Monteſquieu, that the tedioufneſs and expence of law ſuits are the price of liberty. He adds, that whenever any perſon makes himſelf abſolute, he begins to ſimplify the laws.

It is poſſible, however, that this price of liberty itſelf may be too dear; for when law ſuits are very expenſive, they are ineffectual. In that caſe differences muſt be decided at random, men being not able to know what the law is; or both parties may be ruined while they are examining it: and what is this better than a ſociety without law, or a perfect anarchy?

It is hardly neceſſary to obſerve, that the laws of every country ſhould be free from the leaſt contradiction or uncertainty, and that both the practice and the theory of them ſhould be uniform.

uniform. The uſe of laws depends ſo much upon the uniformity of them, in order that juſtice be adminiſtered to all perſons alike, that it is highly convenient that the ſame forms be kept up as much as poſſible in all courts of juſtice. Lord Kaims has largely demonſtrated the inconvenience attending the introduction of ſome parts of the civil law into the old feudal law of Scotland; whereas the Engliſh are remarkably tenacious of their cuſtoms, and have preſerved their forms entire, with little or no variation, from the earlieſt times. This is certainly, upon the whole, very laudable; yet there ſeems to be an abſurdity in the theory, how uſeful ſoever the general rule may be in practice, to adhere to ancient forms, when the very ideas and maxims of law on which they were founded are vaniſhed.

There are many ſignal inſtances of this in the Engliſh law. Thus in England, land, generally ſpeaking, is abſolutely under the power of the proprietor, and yet the ancient practice ſtill ſubſiſts, which confines the execution to one half, preciſely as in the early feudal times, when the debtor could diſpoſe of no more than half his land. Means, however, have been contrived, indirect, indeed, to ſupply this palpable defect. Any other creditor is authorized to ſeize another half of the land left out of the firſt execution, and ſo on without end. But the worſt conſequences of theſe practices are, that by thus ſtrictly adhering to the form without regarding the ſubſtance, law, inſtead of a rational ſcience, becomes a heap of ſubterfuges, which tend inſenſibly to corrupt the morals of thoſe perſons who make it their profeſſion.

I ſhall conclude this ſubject of laws with juſt obſerving, that *cuſtom* has in all countries the force of law; and indeed it is cuſtom that gives to all laws their greateſt force. An attempt to change a mere cuſtom, though in fact an inconvenient one,

and at leaſt a very inſignificant one, has frequently met with the greateſt oppoſition. There was nothing in all the alterations which Peter the Great made in the conſtitution of Ruſſia more diſliked, and which met with more violent, and general oppoſition, than his orders to all the people who came to town to cut off their beards, and wear ſhort garments.

After theſe obſervations concerning laws in general, I ſhall recite the more important maxims of *criminal law* in particular, as a moſt important object of attention in ſtudying the conſtitution and police of different countries.

The object of criminal law is to leſſen the number of crimes in future, and thereby to give every man a ſenſe of his perſonal ſecurity; and if this could be done without the actual puniſhment of any criminal, ſo much evil would be prevented as his puniſhment implies. Conſequently, puniſhment has no reference to the degree of moral turpitude in the criminal. It has been juſtly obſerved that, properly ſpeaking, a man is not hanged for ſtealing a ſheep in this country, but that by the terror of his puniſhment ſheep may not be ſtolen; and that, without any anxiety, perſons may leave their ſheep in the fields unguarded.

Crimes committed by violence, and alſo by night, ought to be puniſhed with more ſeverity than thoſe committed by ſtealth, or in the day; becauſe the apprehenſion of the former ſubjects men to greater dread, and their greater vigilance avails them but little; whereas in caſes in which their own care can ſecure them from injury, the ſtate has leſs occaſion to interfere.

Very ſtrict notions of liberty may be unfavourable to a great degree of ſecurity. It is, no doubt, a capital advantage to this country, that our lives, our liberties, and our properties, are not at the mercy of *men*, and that we cannot be deprived of them

them but by *expreſs law*, rigorouſly conſtrued. But this circumſtance makes the proof of a crime ſo difficult, that many criminals eſcape for one who ſuffers the puniſhment which the laws inflict. In this caſe, the chance of impunity being ſo very great, there is too much encouragement to crimes. It is commonly ſaid with us, that it is better that a hundred criminals ſhould eſcape, than that one innocent perſon ſhould ſuffer. But what the innocent daily ſuffer by the hundred criminals who eſcape ſhould be taken into the account, as well as the chance of an innocent man ſuffering as a criminal. In this caſe he ought to conſider his life as ſacrificed to the ſecurity of the reſt of his countrymen. However, the chance of loſing truly upright and worthy characters by ſeverity in the adminiſtration of juſtice is very little. With us ſome, no doubt, do ſuffer for crimes which they did not commit; but they are generally ſuch as have committed other crimes, and who, on that account, have no character to make their innocence probable.

In order to prevent the commiſſion of crimes, puniſhments, at the ſame time that they ought to be adequate to the offences, ſhould be ſuch as inſpire the greateſt *terror*; ſo that if ſlavery be more dreadful than preſent death, as it is to many, the lives of criminals ſhould be ſpared, and they ſhould be confined to hard labour, either at home, or abroad. In this caſe ſome advantage might be derived from them, in compenſation for the injury they have done to ſociety. In this country, however, there would be great danger of criminals eſcaping from their confinement to labour, and the loſs to ſociety by the deſtruction of criminals is ſoon made up by the production of better ſubjects. How few die by the hand of the executioner compared with thoſe who die in conſequence of war. Is there, then,

any

any mercy in ſparing criminals, when the lives of ſoldiers are in a manner ſported with? The only inconvenience from ſevere puniſhment is, leſt criminals, having no hope of eſcaping if they ſhould be apprehended, ſhould be guilty of greater violences in order to prevent detection.

In order to inſpire terror, it is of particular conſequence that puniſhment ſhould immediately follow conviction, which was the caſe with all the ancient nations. Thus, our Saviour, after being condemned, was immediately led to execution. Our mode of reſpiting for the ſake of benefiting the ſouls of the criminals has ariſen from a notion that ſuch repentance as that of a condemned criminal may be of ſome avail to him with reſpect to his future ſtate; a notion falſe and dangerous in the extreme, as it encourages the whole community to perſiſt in evil courſes; thinking that a few days, or hours, of repentance, may cancel all their guilt, and prepare them for future happineſs.

A wiſe and prudent legiſlature will endeavour to *prevent* the commiſſion of crimes, as well as to ſee to the puniſhment of them when they are committed. For this purpoſe, it is of great conſequence that every incentive to profligacy and vice be removed as far as poſſible. The proſpect of improving men's fortunes by *lotteries* diverts them from the purſuit of honeſt gain, and is the cauſe of making great numbers deſperate. A multitude of *alehouſes*, and other places of entertainment, which tempt men to ſpend their money, when their families are in want of it, is another great nuiſance in this country. And the long confinement of criminals together, and in ſome caſes of debtors and criminals promiſcuouſly, with every means which they can command of riot and debauch, while they are in priſon, makes it a perfect ſchool of vice. They teach and harden one another,

another, and as nine out of ten eſcape execution, they come into the world better taught in the arts of villany than before. Common ſenſe, one would think, ſhould have taught us long ago what the excellent Mr. Howard has taken ſo much pains to inculcate, viz. that every criminal ſhould be confined *alone*, and be limited to the bare neceſſaries of life. Perfect ſolitude gives room for reflection, and will often reclaim when nothing elſe would do it.

Great ſeverity, as well as great lenity, ought to be avoided in the ſanctions of laws. The ſeverity of laws hinders the execution of them. Perſons of humanity would rather let a criminal eſcape than ſee him ſuffer more than they think he deſerves. When puniſhment bears no proportion to the nature of the crime, men are puniſhed under the idea of their being more wicked than they really are, which is contrary to the ſpirit of a moderate government. Beſides, when puniſhments are very ſevere, there can be little room for a difference in the animadverſions upon offences. Hence perſons who are once criminal in any degree have nothing left to reſtrain them from greater exceſſes. Thus in countries, where the puniſhments of robbery and murder are the ſame, robbers always commit murder. This inconvenience muſt happen unleſs, as it is often the caſe, and particularly in England, the gentleneſs of the adminiſtration ſoften the rigour of the law. But this evidently tends to introduce the moſt lawleſs proceedings. When the Voconian law at Rome appeared too harſh, every prætor decided according to his own ideas of equity, that is, without law. Of all governments the Japaneſe is the moſt ſevere. In Japan the whole diſtrict is puniſhed where the crime was committed; and thus Alfred was obliged to enact with reſpect to England.

So rigorous are the foreſt laws in France, that, as the writer of the life of Mr. Turgot informs us, a peaſant being accuſed of killing a wild boar, alleged in his excuſe that he took it to be a man. But as exceſſive ſeverity in laws is apt to beget relaxation in their execution, ſo, on the other hand, their exceſſive lenity, beſides giving too much indulgence, and conſequently encouragement to offenders, is often the cauſe of lawleſs cruelty and barbarity. Where there are no legal methods of putting perſons to death, as in the caſe of Sylla, men will have recourſe to illegal ones to get rid of their enemies, as he did by proſcription.

It ſeems at firſt ſight that it would be better to define every crime, and to fix every puniſhment with the greateſt preciſion, in order that every man may know with certainty what will be the conſequence of his conviction. But ſince no crimes can be defined with ſuch preciſion, but that the degrees both of guilt, and of danger to the community, will be very different in crimes of the ſame denomination, ſome think it more convenient, in countries governed by ſtrict law, to appoint heavy puniſhments for ſmall offences, with a power of pardon, or of mitigating the puniſhment, in ordinary caſes, and of executing the ſentence of the law in caſes of a more atrocious nature. This at leaſt is the practice in England.

One reaſon why robbers ſeldom commit murder in England, is that no mercy is expected in this caſe. But another is thought to be the horror which people of this country have for dead bodies, which is ſuppoſed to be owing to their very ſeldom ſeeing them; whereas the Italians are ſaid to be leſs ſhocked at this ſight, becauſe it is the cuſtom of the country to carry their dead to the grave with their faces uncovered.

Neither crimes nor puniſhments ſhould be eſtimated by *money*, but rather, if it be poſſible, by *commodities*, unleſs the

the nominal ſum be frequently changed; otherwiſe great inconveniences will follow. Thus in England, a man is liable to be hanged, according to the letter of the law, if he ſteal any thing above the value of ten-pence. A fellow at Rome is ſaid to have given a box on the ear to all he met, giving them a ſmall piece of money, according to the law of the twelve tables.

Shame is no puniſhment except upon perſons of ingenuous diſpoſitions; and if it extinguiſh a ſenſe of ſhame, as it tends to do, a man is thereby made deſperate; at leaſt he has one important reſtraint from the commiſſion of crimes taken from him. There are few caſes, therefore, in which it is wiſe to have recourſe to it.

It has been a fault in ſome governments to make ſome things the object of law of which cognizance cannot be taken, for want of proper evidence. Thus the Perſians abſurdly made ingratitude a crime to which a puniſhment was annexed; whereas nothing of the nature of *manners*, ought to be compriſed in a code of civil laws.

Still more abſurd is it to introduce ſuch principles into the adminiſtration of juſtice among imperfect men as are only adapted to the all-perfect government of God. Thus the tribunal of *inquiſition* is founded upon the idea of repentance, as a religious act. Conſequently, no perſon has any chance of being abſolved unleſs he confeſs, and be his own accuſer: and he who denies a crime of which the inquiſitors think him guilty is always condemned. The Spaniards hardly acted more abſurdly than this when they condemned, and executed, the Incha Athualpa for having had ſeveral wives, which was not contrary to the Peruvian laws, and for killing ſome of his ſubjects.

As laws ſhould not contradict themſelves, ſo neither ought they to have any tendency to leſſen the obligation of moral duties.

They ought rather to enforce them. Thus it was fundamentally wrong, ſays Monteſquieu, in Gondebald king of the Burgundians, to order that the wife, or a ſon, of a thief ſhould be made ſlaves if they did not reveal the theft.

Nothing depending upon a man's ſelf ſhould be admitted as an excuſe for a crime, not drunkenneſs for inſtance, though madneſs ought. The North American Indians, however, think differently. Should one of them, ſays Mr. Charlevoix*, kill another when he is drunk (which they often pretend to be when they harbour any ſuch deſign) they content themſelves with bewailing the dead. It was a great misfortune, ſay they, but as for the murderer, he knew not what he did.

If a murder be committed in cold blood among the North American Indians, thoſe of his own cabin only, ſays Mr. Charlevoix†, have the power of puniſhing him with death. But this they very rarely do, and then without any form of juſtice; ſo that his death looks not like a legal puniſhment, but rather the revenge of ſome individual; and ſometimes the chief is glad of this opportunity to get rid of a bad ſubject. In a word, crimes are puniſhed in ſuch a manner as neither to ſatisfy juſtice, nor eſtabliſh the public tranquility and ſecurity.

All trials ſhould be as *public* as poſſible, that the ſenſe of the country may be a check upon the proceedings of the court.

The good or bad uſe which is made of laws depends very much on the perſons who are the *proſecutors*, and thoſe who adminiſter them. In Rome there was no *caluminator publicus*, no *advocate or attorney general*, every perſon was allowed to proſecute for crimes which had a public bad tendency. This, ſays Monteſquieu, was a faulty inſtitution, becauſe ſuch a privilege

* Vol. ii. p. 32. † Vol. ii. p. 32.

given

given to individuals could not but be frequently made the inſtrument of venting private ill-will and revenge. In modern governments, the privilege of proſecuting public crimes belongs to the chief magiſtrate. In England, no criminal trial, in the name of the crown, can proceed till the caſe has firſt been examined by the grand jury of the county, and their authority interpoſed for the proſecution.

In Turkey, ſays Lady Wortley Montague*, murder is never purſued by the king's officers, as with us. It is the buſineſs of the next relations to revenge the dead perſon, and if they chuſe rather to compound the matter for money, there is no more ſaid of it.

It is of the greateſt conſequence that the *judges* be perſons who have no intereſt in the event of the proſecution. They ought therefore, if poſſible, to have no part either in the legiſlative or executive power of a ſtate, or any proſpect of arriving at greater preferment; and they ſhould alſo be choſen out of the body of the people. We ſee the admirable wiſdom of the Engliſh conſtitution, both in the appointment of juries, and the ſituation of the judges. Claudius, ſays Tacitus, by judging himſelf in all affairs, gave occaſion to all kinds of injuſtice; and Nero when he began his reign, to ingratiate himſelf with the people, promiſed to have no concern in it. Lewis XIV. often decided the cauſes of his ſubjects, and ſo did all the ancient feudal princes. In England Edward III. was the laſt of our kings who preſided in a court of juſtice.

Much of the effect of criminal law depends upon the rules of *evidence*, which are very different in different countries. In England we require the ſtricteſt evidence, and it muſt in all

* Letters, vol. iii. p. 34.

caſes be given in open court, and in the preſence of the accuſed. With us, alſo, *probabilities* are little regarded. But it is not ſo in ſome other countries. The parliament of Thouloufe, ſays the author of the *Commentaries on Crimes and Puniſhments**, has a very ſingular cuſtom with reſpect to evidence. In other places *demy proofs* are admitted, but at Tholouſe they admit a quarter, and even an eighth of a proof. For inſtance, a hearſay may be conſidered as a quarter; and another hearſay, more vague than the former, an eighth; ſo that eight hearſays, which in fact may be no more than the echo of a groundleſs report, conſtitute a full proof. On this principle it was that the unfortunate Calas was condemned to the wheel.

A criminal action may be aſcertained either by the poſitive *teſtimony* of perſons who ſaw it committed, or by other *circumſtances*; and in general the former is much preferred; but it is upon the ſuppoſition that the witneſſes will not be deceived themſelves, or contribute to deceive others; and as there are many caſes in which one, or both of theſe may be ſuppoſed, ſuch teſtimony comes under the deſcription of a *circumſtance*, by which we are enabled to judge whether the fact took place or not: and there are many caſes in which it may have leſs weight than other circumſtances.

In no country do more crimes go unpuniſhed than in Italy, chiefly on account of their *ſanctuaries*, and alſo on account of their cuſtom of confining the witneſſes along with the criminals. The moſt atrocious parricides, ſays Mr. Sharp†, are ſeldom puniſhed at Naples. If a murderer touch a church wall (and many walls are church walls in this city) before he is ſeized by the officers, holy church will not ſuffer him to be hanged, and

* Page 77. † Travels, p. 136.

if

if one man ſtabs another in the ſight of ten witneſſes, they all decamp, and leave the coaſt clear to the aſſaſſin.

One method of compelling perſons to give a true evidence is *torture*, and in ſome caſes, no doubt, it will ſucceed; but in many more a man may be made to ſay any thing to relieve himſelf from extreme pain. The only proper uſe of torture is that of puniſhment for atrocious crimes; and it would certainly ſtrike more terror, which is the end of all puniſhment, if in certain caſes recourſe was had to it. It has been ſuggeſted that there would be no impropriety in condemning murderers to be thrown to wild beaſts.

One of the moſt abſurd methods of aſcertaining the juſtice of a cauſe in the feudal times was that of *fighting*, either in perſon or by champions. This was called *wager of battle*, or *trial by God*, of which our criminals have nominally the option, it having been imagined that Divine Providence would favour the righteous cauſe.

Some thing ſimilar to the *wager of battle* was practiſed by chriſtians, and termed the *judgment of the croſs*. In 1775 a conteſt aroſe between the Biſhop of Paris, and the Abbot of St. Dennys, concerning the property of a ſmall abbey. Each of them exhibited deeds and records. But inſtead of trying the authenticity, or conſidering the import, of theſe, the point was referred to the *judicium crucis*. Each produced a perſon, who, during the celebration of maſs, ſtood before the croſs with his arms expanded, and he whoſe repreſentative firſt became weary, and altered his poſture, loſt his cauſe. The Abbot gained it *.

As no perſon ſhould be conſidered as guilty till he is proved to be ſo, no perſon ſhould be deprived of liberty, or confined, ex-

* Robertſon's Charles V. vol. i. p. 290.

cept

cept the crime of which he is accuſed would be puniſhed more ſeverely than by baniſhment and confiſcation of goods. Becauſe in this caſe, if he was guilty, it would be in his power to eſcape puniſhment. The reaſon for impriſoning an accuſed perſon is only to ſecure his appearance to take his trial; and he ought to be indemnified for his confinement, either by the proſecutor, or the country, if it appear that he was innocent.

If an innocent man be charged with a crime, it is reaſonable that he ſhould have ſome compenſation, and in England an action lies for falſe impriſonment. In France, on the contrary, an innocent perſon, who has had the misfortune to be thrown into a dungeon, and tortured almoſt to death, has no conſolation, no advantage to hope for, no action againſt any one; and to add to his misfortune, he has for ever loſt his reputation, becauſe his joints have been diſlocated, which ought to have entitled him to compaſſion *.

* Beccaria on Crimes and Puniſhment, p. 73.

LECTURE XLVIII.

The Theory of the Progreſs of Law, exemplified in the Hiſtory of the Criminal law, and in the Progreſs of Men's Ideas and of Laws concerning Property. Hiſtory of Laws. Profeſſion of Law.

THE theory of the *progreſs of laws* is a fine ſubject of ſpeculation for a philoſopher and metaphyſician, demonſtrating how men's ideas enlarge, and grow refined, in proportion to the improvements of ſociety. As a ſpecimen of this, I ſhall ſelect the *progreſs of the criminal laws*, and of the *laws relating to property*, abridged from the ingenious *Law Tracts* of Lord Kaims.

The neceſſity of applying to a judge where any doubt aroſe about the author of a crime, was probably, in all countries, the firſt inſtance of the legiſlature's interpoſing in matters of puniſhment. In the next place, the injured perſon was not to puniſh at pleaſure. In Abyſſinia it was only when a perſon was adjudged to die that he was put into the power of the injured.

Pecuniary compoſitions were probably firſt eſtabliſhed by common conſent. It was next made unlawful to proſecute reſentments, without firſt demanding ſatisfaction from the delinquent; and the laſt ſtep was to compel the delinquent to pay, and the injured to accept of, a proper ſatisfaction.

When compoſitions firſt came into uſe, it is probable they were authorized in ſlight delinquencies only, and he only who

was injured had a right to the compoſition. But if a man was killed, any one of his relations was entitled to a ſhare, becauſe they were all ſufferers by his death; and in all atrocious crimes it was ſoon perceived that the *public* was injured. A fine muſt therefore be paid to the fiſc, over and above what the perſons injured had a right to claim. The magiſtrate, having thus acquired ſuch influence, even in private puniſhments, proceeded naturally to aſſume the privilege of avenging wrongs done to the public merely, when no individual was hurt. In this manner was the power of puniſhing crimes againſt the ſtate eſtabliſhed in the civil magiſtrate.

Compoſitions eſtabliſhed in days of poverty bore no proportion to crimes, after nations became rich. Here, then, was a fair opportunity for the king, or chief magiſtrate, to interpoſe, and decree an adequate puniſhment. The firſt inſtance of this kind, it is probable, had the conſent of the perſons injured, and it could not be difficult to perſuade any man of ſpirit, that it was more for his honour to ſee his enemy condignly puniſhed, than put up with a trifling compenſation in money. And then, if a puniſhment was inflicted adequate to the crime, there could be no claim for a compoſition. And thus, though indirectly, an entire end was put to the right of private puniſhment in all matters of importance. Theft probably afforded the firſt inſtance of this kind of puniſhment. The option of inflicting capital puniſhments, or leaving the criminal to common law, was imperceptibly converted into an arbitrary power of pardoning, even after ſentence; but then the perſon injured had a right to the compoſition.

The trial by *battle*, introduced by Dogabert, king of Burgundy, being more agreeable to the genius of a warlike people, was retained much longer than the uſe of *fire and water*, another

another artificial means of diſcovering truth. They were both conſidered as an appeal to the Almighty.

The *oath of purgation* was ſubſtituted in the place of battle, the defendant bringing along with him into the court certain perſons called *compurgators*, who, after he had ſworn to his own innocence, all ſwore that his oath was true. This gave the defendant a choice of a *wager by battle*, or a *wager by law*, as the compurgation was called.

Laſtly, the oath of compurgation gave place to *juries*. The tranſition was eaſy, there being no variation in the cuſtom, except that the twelve compurgators, formerly named by the defendant, were now named by the judge. The oath of purgation and juries were in uſe at the ſame time, but the two methods could not long ſubſiſt together.

I now proceed to mark the ſeveral ſteps in the progreſs of men's ideas concerning *property*.

In the original conceptions of mankind concerning property, *poſſeſſion* was an eſſential circumſtance. It was however a rule that though property is loſt by theft, it is not acquired by theft.

Of all the ſubjects of property, *land* is that which engages our affections the moſt, and for this reaſon the relation of property reſpecting land grew up much ſooner to its preſent firmneſs and ſtability than the relation of property reſpecting moveables. But moveable property led the way in the power of *alienating*.

In order to take poſſeſſion of land, ſome overt act was neceſſary, which was conceived to repreſent poſſeſſion, and was termed *ſymbolical poſſeſſion*.

Property originally limited, beſtowing no power of alienation, carries the mind naturally to the chain of poſſeſſors, who con-

tinue the occupant's poſſeſſion after his death, and who muſt ſucceed if he cannot alienate.

Donations were of ſlower growth, being at firſt ſmall, and upon plauſible pretexts. It then grew to be a law that the father without the conſent of his heirs, might give part of his land to religious uſes, in marriage with his daughter, or in recompence for ſervices.

Donations *inter vivos* paved way for donations *mortis cauſa*. The power of *teſting* was firſt introduced by Solon, who gave power to every proprietor who had no children to regulate his ſucceſſion by teſtament.

When a man died without children, his land originally, fell back to the common. By degrees, the idea of property began to ſubſiſt after death; and the perſon might claim who derived right from the deceaſed. This right was, probably, firſt communicated to the children *foris familiæ*, eſpecially if all the children were in that ſituation. Children failing, the eſtate went to a brother, and ſo gradually to more diſtant collateral relations.

The ſucceſſion of collaterals failing, deſcendants produced a new legal idea, for as they had no pretext of right, independent of the former proprietor, their privilege of ſucceeding could ſtand on no other ground than the preſumed will of the deceaſed. But the privilege of deſcendants, being gradually reſtrained within narrower and narrower bounds, was confounded in the hope of ſucceſſion with collaterals.

A man who has amaſſed great wealth cannot think of quitting his hold. To colour the diſmal proſpect, he makes a deed arreſting fleeting property, ſecuring his eſtate to himſelf, and to thoſe who repreſent him, in an endleſs train of ſucceſſion. His eſtate

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and his heirs muſt for ever bear his name, every thing being contrived to perpetuate his name and his wealth. This gave riſe to *entails*. *Entails* in England, favoured by the feudal ſyſtem, and authoriſed by ſtatutes, ſpread every where with great rapidity, till, becoming a public nuiſance, they were checked and defeated by the authority of the judges, without a ſtatute. That entails are ſubverſive of commerce and induſtry is not the worſt that can juſtly be ſaid of them. They are a ſnare to the thoughtleſs proprietor, who, by a ſingle act, may be entangled paſt hope of recovery. To the cautious again, they are a perpetual cauſe of diſcontent, by ſubverting that liberty and independence to which all men aſpire, with reſpect to their poſſeſſions as well as their perſons.

The hiſtory of laws, in their progreſs from ſtate to ſtate, is well worthy of the attention of an hiſtorian. Some of the moſt important changes in human affairs are owing to facts neceſſarily connected with this ſubject. No event tended to improve the weſtern part of the world more than the accidental finding of a copy of *Juſtinian's Pandects* in 1130 at Amalphi in Italy.

Many things in the preſent ſtate of any law are unintelligible without the knowledge of the hiſtory and progreſs of it. Thus it may well puzzle a perſon to account for the late Engliſh practice of cruſhing a perſon to death who will not plead. But the reaſon is, that the Engliſh adhered to the original notion, that a proceſs of law implies a *judicial contract*, and that there can be no proceſs unleſs the defendant ſubmits to have his cauſe tried. Formerly it was actually at their option, to accept of the *wager of combat*, or *wager of law*, as it was called. In many parts of Europe no perſon can be executed till he has confeſſed his crime. In this caſe they have recourſe to torture.

The *profeſſion of law* has always been reckoned honourable in civilized countries. All the youth of diſtinction at Rome ſtudied the law, and the pleading of cauſes was the conſtant and well-known road to popularity and preferment; though perhaps a regard for *eloquence*, as much as for law, might be the reaſon of it. Barbarous nations have ever entertained an averſion to forms of law, and it is certainly an argument of the barbarity of theſe northern nations, that the profeſſion of law was ſo long regarded as a mean employment. France is the only country in Europe where the ancient nobility have often put on the long robe.

LECTURE XLIX.

Neceſſity of an Attention to Agriculture. How beſt encouraged. Bounties. Public Granaries. Mutual Influences of Agriculture and Commerce. Circumſtances attending the Imperfection of Agriculture. Imperfect State of it in England a few Centuries ago. The Progreſs of Improvements in Society. Diviſion of Labour. Great Uſes of the moſt common Arts.

SUPPOSING the things which have the greateſt influence on human affairs, viz. *government* and *laws*, to be properly adjuſted, the only ſtable foundation of moſt of the improvements in ſocial life is Agriculture, conſidered as including the cultivation of all the productions of the earth. It is therefore a ſubject that deſerves very particular attention. I even conſider the

breeding of cattle as a part of this ſubject, becauſe that employment (except when it is followed by people who frequently ſhift their habitations, as the wandering Tartars) neceſſarily implies the cultivation of graſs, if not of other vegetables.

From the earth it is, ultimately, that all animal life is maintained; and from the earth we fetch all the materials for thoſe manufactures and arts, which improve and embelliſh human life; ſo that were agriculture, in this extenſive ſenſe, not attended to, thoſe manufactures and conveniences could not exiſt. At leaſt the continuance of them muſt be very precarious, as they muſt then be brought from other countries. And if the produce of the ſoil of any country be not ſufficient to ſupport the inhabitants, their very ſubſiſtence muſt neceſſarily be very precarious. The free intercourſe among nations in modern times makes ſuch a ſituation ſufficiently ſafe; but in many times of antiquity no ſuch a ſtate as that of Holland could have exiſted. There was no city in Greece but what was maintained by the produce of its own adjacent lands, except *Athens*, which, by its commerce, and ſuperior naval force, commanded ſupplies from all the neighbouring countries.

The only way to encourage agriculture is to excite other kinds of induſtry, affording a ready market for the exchange of corn for commodities; that is, to make it ſubſervient to commerce. If the inhabitants of any country have no motive to raiſe more corn that what will be ſufficient for their own conſumption, they will often not raiſe even that; and a bad ſeed time, or harveſt, will be neceſſarily followed by a famine. This was frequently the caſe in England before the bounty was granted for the exportation of corn; ſince which time, viz. in the year 1689, we have had no ſuch thing as a famine. And what is very remarkable, notwithſtanding the increaſe of the proportion between

between money and commodities, the price of corn has rather fallen ſince that time. For whereas, for forty-three years before the bounty was granted, the mean price of a quarter of wheat was two pounds ten ſhillings and two-pence; by an exact calculation of the price of wheat from the year 1689 to the year 1752, it appeared to be no more than two pounds two ſhillings and eight-pence. It does not follow from this that bounties are wiſe meaſures. They may be uſeful for a time. But if any commodity cannot be raiſed, or exported, without a bounty, it ſhould be conſidered whether more is not given in the bounty than is gained by raiſing, or exporting, the commodity.

That the deſire of procuring mere ſubſiſtence, without any view to ſuperfluity, is not, in all places, a ſufficient motive to perfect the culture of the earth, ſeems evident from a compariſon of the improvement and populouſneſs of countries with, and without, good roads, or canals. When the produce of land can be eaſily exported and exchanged, there is a great additional motive to cultivation, though it would yield as much of the mere neceſſaries of life (which did not require to be removed from the ſpot) whether they could be conveyed to a diſtance or not. It muſt be obſerved, however, that in ſome ſituations the tools, and manure, proper for the ſoil, muſt be fetched from a diſtance.

Both Florence and Naples are ſo far from adopting our principles of encouraging agriculture by granting a bounty on the exportation of corn, that they lay a duty on all exported corn. So wedded are they to the ancient opinion of preventing the dearneſs of bread, by keeping the whole growth at home. Some years ago there was an amazing harveſt through the whole kingdom of Naples. They had upon their hands a quantity to the amount of two or three hundred thouſand pounds in value, which

which they could not conſume. There was at that time an application made for an exemption from the duty on exportation, without which the merchant could not find his account in ſending it abroad. But though the miniſter was informed by ſeveral perſons that the revenue would certainly feel the good effects of ſo much more money being brought into the country, as fully as in the ſhape of a duty on exports, he was deaf to all their reaſonings, and would not eſtabliſh ſo dangerous a precedent as he thought it. The conſequence was, that the corn grew mouldy and periſhed, the next harveſt failed, and a dreadful dearth enſued *.

Another advantage attending the raiſing an extraordinary quantity of corn is, that by keeping bread at a reaſonable price, workmen's *wages* are kept lower, and more fixed; a thing of the greateſt conſequence in manufactures. And it is certain, that neither agriculture, nor trade, can flouriſh where the general eaſe does not begin with the claſs of labourers. This, indeed, would be ſtill more effectually done by *public granaries*; but the large ſtocks of merchants who export corn ſerve inſtead of granaries, when, upon the apprehenſion of a dearth, the bounty is taken off, or an embargo laid upon exportation.

The advantages of *agriculture* and *commerce* are reciprocal. For, as Poſtlethwaite obſerves, whatever hurts trade is in fact deſtructive of culture, and conſequently the intereſts of both land and trade are beſt promoted by cultivating ſuch things as commerce points out to be the moſt beneficial. It is his great maxim, that the only method of increaſing our trade, and

* Sir James Stuart's Obſervations, vol. i. p. 3.

thereby

thereby of augmenting our wealth, is to increaſe our land cultivations, and encloſe the waſte grounds in the kingdom.

Where there is an uncommon tendency to population in a country, neceſſity will be a ſtronger ſpur to apply to agriculture than the advantages expected from commerce. This is the reaſon why huſbandry has been carried to greater perfection in China than in any part of Europe, or of the world. The encouragement of agriculture is there a juſt and neceſſary object of attention to the ſtate. The emperor of China, every year, makes the beſt farmer of the empire a mandarin of the eighth order. It was with the ſame view that, among the ancient Perſians, the king quitted his ſtate, and lived with the farmers eight days in one particular month of the year. Switzerland too, a populous and barren country, abounds with excellent huſbandmen.

Where agriculture is reckoned a merely laborious, and conſequently a mean and ignoble employment, it is certain not to be underſtood, nor much practiſed. Every man, ſays Xenophon, may be a farmer; a ſtrong proof, as even Columella hints, that agriculture was but little known in the age of Xenophon. Agriculture is yet far from being brought to the perfection of which it is capable; and nothing but the ſtrongeſt inducements from commerce, or abſolute neceſſity, the mother of moſt inventions, will enable us to judge of what perfection it is capable.

It was but lately that agriculture was applied to in England. Before we became a conſiderable commercial ſtate, all the country was poſſeſſed by graziers, and the little agriculture that was underſtood, or practiſed, among us was confined to the article of Corn only. It is but ſince queen Elizabeth's time that we have had any ſettled notions about agriculture.

Mr.

Mr. Hartlib, to whom Milton dedicated his Treatiſe on Education, ſays, that old men in his days remembered the firſt gardeners who came over to Surry, and ſold turnips, carrots, parſnips, early peas, and rape, which were then a great rarity, being imported from Holland. They introduced, at that time, the planting of cabbages, and cauliflowers, and digging the ground for garden ſtuff. We alſo find that cherries and hops were firſt planted in the reign of Henry VIII. Artichokes firſt made their appearance in the time of queen Elizabeth; and we ſtill had cherries from Flanders, apples from France, onions, ſaffron, and liquoriſh from Spain, and hops from the low countries.

Before we paſs from agriculture to *commerce*, we muſt conſider the influences and connexions of the arts, manufactures, and ſciences, things nearly connected, and highly uſeful in converting the productions of the earth into proper ſubjects of commerce. But I ſhall firſt give a general view of the progreſs of men towards wealth, and the claſſes into which they became diſtributed by this means. The *progreſs of ſociety*, and the ſteps by which nations advance to opulence and power, is one of the moſt pleaſing and uſeful objects of ſpeculation.

The only original ſource of wealth, and every other advantage is *labour*. By this men are enabled to get from the earth, or the ſea, their proviſions, materials for their cloathing and habitations, and their comfortable ſubſiſtence in all other reſpects. By this they make themſelves tools and engines, which ſhorten labour, and divide it, ſo as to enable a few to make ſufficient proviſion for a great number.

They who by their induſtry have acquired property, and who have by the rules of ſociety the power of diſpoſing of it, tranſmit the whole ſtock of it to their deſcendants, ſo as to exempt

them from labour. For the advantage of cultivating their land, living in their houſes, or making uſe of their money, others are willing to maintain them without labour, ſo that they can live upon their *rents*. They who, by their own labour, or that of others, are poſſeſſed of transferable commodities, can ſell them to thoſe who want them, and with the price they get buy others, gaining ſomething by every transfer; and thus, without any proper labour, they live by the *profits of their trade*.

Thoſe who by their labour, their rents, or the profits of trade, have acquired wealth, and want other things, as perſonal ſecurity, perſonal ſervices, inſtruction, or amuſement, will give their ſuperfluity to others, whoſe buſineſs it will be, without any *productive labour* (or ſuch as will add to the ſtock and wealth of the nation) to wait upon them, to fight for them, to inſtruct them, to amuſe them, and even to govern them. All thoſe who are employed in this manner may be called the *ſervants of the public*, and are an article of national expence.

Thus we have got four claſſes of men, the *labourers* (comprizing farmers, and manufacturers, whoſe employment alone is properly *productive*, adding to the wealth of the nation) *landholders*, or *moneyholders*, who live by giving the uſe of their land, or money to others, *traders*, who live by the exchange of commodities, and laſtly *ſervants*, ſuch as magiſtrates, teachers of religion and ſcience, phyſicians, lawyers, ſoldiers, players, &c.

As the product of labour, without greater folly and extravagance than mankind in general are diſpoſed to give into, will in time of peace accumulate, the claſs of unproductive labourers, or ſervants of all kinds, will increaſe; becauſe the labour of a few will be able to ſupport them, and thoſe who have wealth will derive as much advantage from it as they can.

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In theſe circumſtances, *knowledge* will alſo increaſe and accumulate, and will diffuſe itſelf to the lower ranks of ſociety, who by degrees will find leiſure for ſpeculation; and looking beyond their immediate employment, they will conſider the complex machine of ſociety, and in time underſtand it better than thoſe who now write about it. And when mankind in general ſhall be enlightened with reſpect to the uſe and ſubordination of all the parts of which ſociety conſiſt, they will make the beſt regulations for the good of the whole. Having a great ſurplus, they will employ it in the beſt manner, procuring real conveniences, and retrenching uſeleſs expences. If they find they have paid too much for their government, their defence, their religion, the care of their health, or property, &c. they will retrench that expence, and employ it in cultivation, to ſupport greater numbers, who will continually want more means of ſubſiſtence, in manufactures, building bridges, making roads and canals, &c. More particularly, it may be hoped that ſocieties, fully inſtructed by experience, will with the utmoſt care avoid the ruinous expences and devaſtation of *war*, which may diſſipate in one year more than they can accumulate in an hundred.

The thriving ſtate of a nation may be judged of by the encreaſe of its ſtock, the cultivation of its land, the value of its manufactures, and the extent of its commerce. If theſe encreaſe, the nation is wiſe and frugal, and does not ſpend more than it can afford. Individuals, when left to themſelves, are in general ſufficiently provident, and will daily better their circumſtances; and as it may be preſumed that, in conſequence of giving conſtant attention to their intereſt, they will underſtand it, it is ſeldom wiſe in governors to pretend to direct them. Of all the claſſes of men above-mentioned, the governors are, in general, and of neceſſity muſt be, the moſt ignorant of their

own buſineſs, becauſe it is exceedingly complex, and requires more knowledge and ability than they are poſſeſſed of. The waſte of public wealth by them is by far the moſt conſiderable. By the fooliſh wars in which they involve nations, and the endleſs taxes they impoſe upon them, governors are continually pulling down what individuals are building up; ſo that as Dr. Smith juſtly obſerves*, "it is the higheſt impertinence "and preſumption in kings, and miniſters, to pretend to watch "over the œconomy of private people, and to reſtrain their "their expences, either by ſumptuary laws, or by prohibiting "the importation of foreign luxuries. They are themſelves "always, and without any exception, the greateſt ſpendthrifts "in the ſociety. Let them look well after their own expence, "and they may ſafely truſt private people with theirs. If their "own extravagance does not ruin the ſtate, that of their ſubjects "never will."

The great advantage of an improved ſtate of the arts ariſes from the *diviſion of labour*, by which means one man, confining his attention to one thing, or one operation, does it in greater perfection, and with much greater diſpatch. Dr. Smith obſerves that, in the preſent improved ſtate of the manufacture of pins, ten men will make upwards of forty-eight thouſand pins in a day; but that if they had all worked ſeparately, and without any of them having been educated to that particular buſineſs, they could not, each of them, have made twenty, or perhaps not one pin, in a day.

The advantage we derive from the moſt common of our arts, in furniſhing us with tools to facilitate labour, as well as the great uſe of *iron*, we ſee ſtrikingly illuſtrated in the

* Wealth of Nations, vol. ii. p. 27.

account

account which Mr. Charlevoix gives of the method which the North American Indians took to make a hatchet. Before they were provided with hatchets, and other inſtruments, they were very much at a loſs in felling their trees, and making them fit for the uſes for which they intended them. They burned them near the root; and in order to ſplit, and cut them into proper lengths, they made uſe of hatchets made of flint, which never broke, but which required a prodigious time to ſharpen. In order to fix them in a ſhaft, they cut off the top of a young tree, making a ſlit in it, as if they were going to graft it, into which ſlit they inſerted the head of the axe. The parts of the tree growing together again, in length of time, held the head of the hatchet ſo firm, that it was impoſſible for it to get looſe. Then they cut the tree of the length they judged ſufficient for the handle *.

* Travels in Canada, vol. ii. p. 126.

LECTURE L.

Encouragement of Arts, &c. by Government. Securities neceſſary to Manufactures, &c. Apprenticeſhips. Servitude. In what Manner Arts and Manufactures increaſe the Power of a State. Importance of encouraging Labour. Vaſt Advantage of Manufactures, particularly to England. The Society for the Encouragement of Arts, Manufactures, and Commerce. The Connexion between Science and the Arts. On what Circumſtances a Taſte for Science depends. The Conſequences of Interruptions in Science. The uſual Decline of the Arts after they have been brought pretty near Perfection. Why Science is not ſo apt to decline. Superior Happineſs of the preſent, compared with paſt Ages, in conſequence of Improvements in Arts.

THE advantages which men and ſocieties derive from the arts being ſo great, it behoves a wiſe government to do every thing they can to facilitate their progreſs. But there is the greateſt danger of their attempting too much, and being deceived by appearances.

It has been a pretty common practice to encourage particular manufactures, and likewiſe particular kinds of produce, by giving *bounties* on the exportation of them. But the wiſdom of this policy may be queſtioned.

If the whole property of the nation was in the hand of one perſon, he would never export any thing that could not find a gainful market. Though the merchant, therefore, who exports goods with a bounty may gain by ſuch a trade, the nation

evidently cannot. In order to favour any particular manufacture, or produce, a bounty muſt either be given for the raiſing, or exporting it, or the importation of the ſame muſt be prohibited. But in both caſes it is evident that the intereſt of the conſumer is ſacrificed to that of the raiſer of the produce, or the manufacturer. But theſe are few, and the conſumers many. The only good reaſon therefore why any particular produce, or manufacture, is encouraged, is the accommodation of the conſumer. What then can be a greater abſurdity than for the conſumers to tax themſelves in the firſt place to pay the bounty, and then to pay the greater price for the commodity, which the raiſer of the produce, or the manufacturer, who have no competitors in the market, will naturally lay upon his goods.

There is a poſſibility, indeed, that favouring a particular produce, or manufacture, in its infancy, may be a means of making it beneficial to the community at large in ſome future time. But this infancy muſt have a period. If a man be at the expence of rearing a calf, or a colt, it is with a view to its being uſeful to him ſome time or another. If a manufacture cannot be continued without the ſupport of government, it is a proof that it is never worth while to ſupport it. The ſituation of the country is ſuch as that the induſtry of its inhabitants will be better employed ſome other way; and when this is diſcovered, the ſooner the bounty is diſcontinued, the ſooner will they fall into a more proper mode of induſtry.

Manufactures cannot ſubſiſt without a conſiderable degree of *ſecurity* and *independence*. Men will not exert themſelves to acquire much more than a bare ſubſiſtence without a perſuaſion of the ſecurity of their property. In Turky there is very little motive to induſtry, becauſe there is no ſecure poſſeſſion of any thing.

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The inhabitants of Servia, ſays Lady Wortley Montague*, are induſtrious, but the oppreſſion of the peaſants is ſo great, that they are forced to abandon their houſes, and neglect their tillage. Sicily, ſays Mr. Bridone†, is immenſely rich both in a fine ſoil, and in minerals, but the people are grievouſly oppreſſed by government. "To what end," ſay they, "ſhould we explore "the mines. It is not we that ſhould reap the profit. Nay, the "diſcovery of any thing very rich might poſſibly prove the ruin "of its poſſeſſor. Were we happy enough to enjoy the bleſſings "of your conſtitution, you might call us rich, indeed."

The law relating to *apprenticeſhips* in this country is an impediment to the improvement of the arts. According to it, no perſon can exerciſe a trade which exiſted at the time when the ſtatute was made, or be employed as a journeyman, till he has ſerved ſeven years to a maſter in it. In general, much leſs time is neceſſary for the purpoſe, and many perſons find themſelves better qualified to conduct a buſineſs to which they have not been brought up. The inconvenience of this reſtriction is leſſened by methods that are generally practiſed to evade it.

Mankind, naturally averſe to labour, have in all ages endeavoured to compel others to labour for them, and in Greece and Rome the manufacturers were generally ſlaves. In modern times, though an end has been put to ſervitude in the chriſtian countries of Europe, it has been greatly extended in our colonies, ſlaves being purchaſed in Africa and tranſported in order to their being employed in America. But both the injuſtice and ill-policy of this ſyſtem is now pretty generally acknowledged.

* Travels, vol. i. p. 153.

† Vol. ii. p. 225.

Servitude

Servitude is the moſt wretched condition of human nature, becauſe man is capable, in a high degree, of enjoying a ſtate of liberty and ſelf command, and is therefore more miſerable in a ſtate of ſervitude than other animals, many of whom are more happy in that ſtate than in any other. It is alſo an argument againſt ſlavery, that men, ill brooking that condition, and being often refractory, are expoſed to very cruel treatment, and that the moſt dreadful precautions are thought neceſſary to prevent their eſcape, or to puniſh their revolt. It is another argument againſt this practice, that no methods can make ſlaves work with the ſame ſpirit and effect as freemen. Indeed it appears, ſays Dr. Smith*, from the experience of all ages and nations, that the work done by freemen comes cheaper in the end than that performed by ſlaves. It is found to do ſo even at Boſton, New York, and Philadelphia, where the wages of common labour are ſo very high.

The practiſe of ſlavery promotes war, and every method of violence and injuſtice by which one man can be brought into the power of another, in countries where ſlaves are bought. The negroes, no doubt, propagate faſter on account of this traffic. For whatever drain be made for men, it will be ſupplied by the greater encouragement to marry; but they propagate only for ſlavery.

Were all thoſe who are concerned in the purchaſe, or employment, of ſlaves, and without whoſe concurrence the traffic could not be carried on, apprized of the miſery it is the occaſion of, eſpecially in Africa, where princes ſell their ſubjects, parents their children, and individuals any perſon whom they can trapan or overpower, to ſay nothing of what the poor

* Wealth of Nations, vol. i. p. 123.

wretches (few of whom can be ſuppoſed to have done any thing to forfeit their liberty) ſuffer at ſea, and in America, their humanity would revolt at the ſcene, and they would as ſoon as poſſible employ their capitals in ſome other way, though their gains ſhould be leſs.

It is to be hoped that theſe, and other conſiderations, will in time put an end to this abominable traffic. We ſee ſome tendency towards it in the conduct of the North American ſtates, and in this country the humanity of the Quakers is exerting itſelf greatly for the ſame excellent purpoſe.

The manner in which arts and manufactures operate to increaſe the power of a ſtate, is by making a proviſion of a *fund of labour* for the uſe of the ſtate. For ſince the labour which is beſtowed on arts and manufactures only contributes to the greater convenience and ornament of life, it may be ſpared in caſe of exigence, and converted, in a variety of ways, to the ſervice of the ſtate. Perſons are not eaſily brought to labour who have not been accuſtomed to it; and where all the labour in the ſtate is employed about the neceſſaries of life, there can be no reſource in time of war, there being no ſuperfluity of labour in the country, ſufficient to maintain an army to fight in their defence. The only advantage of ſuch a people is, that where there are few ſuperfluities, there can be but little to tempt an invader.

Of ſuch importance is labour to a ſtate, that it would be better to have mines, which require much labour to extract the metal from the ore, than to find the precious metal formed by nature to our hands. In the former caſe, it has all the advantages of a manufacture, in the latter it only raiſes the general proportion of money to commodities, and in ſuch a manner as to make it a mere incumbrance.

Innumerable

Innumerable facts in hiſtory exhibit, in the ſtrongeſt light, the vaſt advantage accruing to a people from manufactures, in conjunction with commerce, which are in a great meaſure inſeparable. But the moſt ſtriking example, and the earlieſt that appeared in Europe, is furniſhed by the Flemings, who led the way in improvements of all kinds to this part of the world. They were the firſt people in theſe northern parts who cultivated the arts and manufactures. And, in conſequence of it, the lower ranks of men in Flanders had riſen to a degree of riches unknown elſewhere to perſons of their ſtation, in that barbarous age. They had acquired, in the time of our Edward III. many privileges, and a great degree of independence, and had begun to emerge from that ſtate of vaſſalage, in which the common people had been univerſally held by the feudal conſtitutions.

In this caſe, we ſee, that the arts of luxury are, to a certain degree, favourable to liberty. When men, by the practiſe of the arts, acquire property, they covet equal laws to ſecure that property. The Houſe of Commons is the ſupport of our popular government, and it owed its chief influence to the increaſe of arts and commerce, which threw ſuch a balance of property into the hands of their conſtituents.

To form ſome idea of the advantages reſulting to this nation from arts and manufactures, let us conſider the numbers of men who are employed about, and maintained by, our home commodities; ſuch as wool, corn, coals, metals, rags, horns, and many other articles; together with the carriage of goods by land and water. Conſider, alſo, the numbers who are employed in manufacturing goods imported, as raw-ſilks, cotton, kid-ſkins, elephants teeth, hemp, Swediſh iron, Spaniſh wool, dying-ſtuffs, oil, ſulphur, ſaltpetre, and many more articles.

The number of theſe latter articles is every day growing leſs, by the encouragement that is given to raiſe the materials for manufactures among ourſelves; that is, either at home, or in our plantations. In conſequence of the excellent methods which have been taken by different ſocieties inſtituted for this purpoſe, ſuch a ſpirit of emulation has been raiſed among manufacturers of all kinds, as has already put many of our arts and trades upon a much better footing than they were before, and promiſes a far ſuperior, and almoſt a new ſtate of things in future time.

The connexion between arts and *ſcience* hardly needs to be pointed out. It is the ſame that holds univerſally between theory and practice. The great improvements in the arts in modern times has certainly ariſen from the late improvements in ſcience. The ſciences which have the moſt immediate connexion with the uſeful arts are natural philoſophy and chymiſtry; but even the more abſtract ſciences have ever been, indirectly, of great uſe to promote a taſte for the finer arts; and, in fact, the ſame ages which have abounded with philoſophers, have uſually abounded with good artiſts. The arts, in return, promote ſociety and humanity, which is ſo favourable to the progreſs of ſcience in all its branches. Mathematical knowledge is of principal uſe in the conſtruction of engines, which ſave labour; and to chymiſtry, we owe the fire engine, our ſkill in dying, and many other arts.

It is often, however, a long time before diſcoveries in natural philoſophy or chymiſtry are applied to any conſiderable uſe. The Chineſe were, for many ages, acquainted with the properties of the load-ſtone, and the compoſition and effects of gunpowder, but never made any uſe of the one in navigation, or of the other in war.

Few

Few obſervations remain to be made on the ſubject of ſcience, as an object of attention to an hiſtorian, after the account which has already been given of the progreſs and revolutions of it. An hiſtorian will ſoon obſerve that, a genius for ſcience by no means depends upon climate: witneſs the difference between the ancient and preſent ſtate of Greece. It will, however, appear that nothing is ſo favourable to the riſe and progreſs of learning and the arts, as a number of neighbouring independent ſtates, connected by commerce and policy. This was the condition of ancient Greece, and it is that of Europe at preſent.

The devaſtations of barbarians, or the perſecution of particular perſons, whoſe intereſts are incompatible with thoſe of knowledge, may deſtroy records and particular monuments, but do not eaſily deſtroy the ſciences. Hoangto was not able to deſtroy learning in China by ordering all the books to be burned. They were preſerved with more care, and appeared after he was dead. Nay even long interruptions in the progreſs of learning are favourable to knowledge, by breaking the progreſs of *authority*. Thus upon the revival of learning in the Weſt, the ancient Grecian ſects of philoſophy could gain no credit.

An hiſtorian will likewiſe obſerve, that when *arts* have arrived at a conſiderable degree of perfection in any place, they have generally begun from that period to decline; one reaſon of which may be, that when the general eſteem is engaged, there is little room for emulation. The paintings of Italy left no room for the ambition of England. The ſame was nearly the caſe with Rome with reſpect to Greece; and the finiſhed productions of the French language long prevented the German nation from attending to the cultivation of their own.

However, the extent of *ſcience* is a remedy for this inconvenience. So wide a field is now open to the genius of man, that

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let ſome excel ever ſo much in one province, there will ſtill be room for others to ſhine in others. And beſides, though the *arts*, as muſic, painting, and poetry, have perceivable limits, beyond which it is almoſt impoſſible to advance. This is far from being the caſe with *ſcience*, of which the human faculties cannot conceive the poſſibility of any bounds. The diſcoveries of Newton in natural philoſophy, ſo far from diſcouraging other philoſophers, only ſerve as an incentive to them in their ſearch after new diſcoveries. And admitting that the reputation of Pope, and a few others, ſhould check the ambition of ſucceeding poets, it is only after ſuch a quantity of valuable poems have been produced, that more are hardly deſirable. Few people have leiſure to read, much leſs to read with care, or to ſtudy, all that is really excellent of this kind of the productions of the laſt age.

I cannot conclude this ſubject without turning your reflections on the advantages mankind derive from improvements in ſcience and the arts, compared with the ſtate of things in thoſe ages in which men were deſtitute of them; particularly in thoſe which relate to the food, the dreſs, and the habitations of the human ſpecies. Indeed, nothing can give us a juſt idea, and a lively ſenſe, of our happineſs in the conveniences we enjoy, but a knowledge of the very great diſadvantages which mankind in former ages have laboured under.

Not to mention the moſt credible accounts we have of the ſtate of mankind in the earlieſt ages, in almoſt all parts of the world; when they lived in caves, or huts made of the branches of trees and earth, when they had no cloathing but leaves, or the raw hides of animals, and no food but the fruits and roots which the earth produced of itſelf; or ſometimes the fleſh of animals which they might happen to ſurprize, eaten raw, or

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with very little preparation: I ſay, not to mention this condition of mankind (which yet is ſcarce inferior to that of many tribes of the human ſpecies now exiſting) if we only for a moment imagine ourſelves in the place of our anceſtors, who lived but a few centuries ago, we cannot help fancying it to be almoſt impoſſible for us to have lived with any comfort; and could the alteration take place, it would certainly affect us very ſenſibly, and would no doubt be fatal to many of the more delicate among us; though it muſt be allowed that this is no fair method of judging of the condition of thoſe who never knew a better ſtate, but who were from their infancy inured to all the hardſhips they were expoſed to. But, admitting this, it is evident the beſt method of making ourſelves fully ſenſible of the real value of any of the arts of life, is to endeavour to form clear ideas of the condition of mankind before the knowledge of ſuch arts. A few examples will beſt illuſtrate and enforce this obſervation.

Linen, of which we are now ſo fond, and without which we ſhould think ourſelves ſo uncomfortable, was not uſed, except by the Egyptians, and a few people in the Eaſt, till a conſiderable time after the reign of Auguſtus. The only garb of the ancients, by whom we mean the Greeks and Romans, in the times of their greateſt riches and luxury, ſeems to have been a kind of flannel, which they wore commonly white or grey, and which they ſcoured as often as it grew dirty.

We think ourſelves very happy when we have a comfortable fire in a private ſitting-room, or bed-chamber; but we ſhould think ourſelves much more ſo, if we conſidered how lately it is that any ſuch convenience could be had, and that in all the times of antiquity there was only one hearth belonging to any houſe, placed in the middle of a large hall, from which the

ſmoke,

ſmoke, aſcending in the middle, went out at a hole in the top of the room; and particularly if we conſidered that all the habitations of the Engliſh were formerly nothing better than the huts of the Highlanders and the wild Iriſh at this day. Chimneys were not general till about the time of Elizabeth.

By the uſe of glaſs in our windows, we enjoy the light and exclude the weather, but the wealthieſt of the ancients had no ſuch advantage. To how many uſes does *paper* now ſerve for which nothing elſe would be nearly ſo convenient? and yet the ancients were obliged to do without it.

Before the ſixteenth century Voltaire ſays that above one half of the globe were ignorant of the uſe of bread and wine, which is ſtill unknown to a great part of America, and the eaſtern parts of Africa. In the fourteenth century wine was ſo ſcarce in England, that it was ſold only by the apothecaries as a cordial; at the ſame time candles were reckoned an article of luxury, ſhirts were made of ſerge, linen worn only by perſons of diſtinction, and there was no ſuch thing as either chimneys or ſtoves.

All the conveniences we derive from a knowledge of the mechanical powers; as mills, clocks, watches, &c. are comparatively of very modern invention, to ſay nothing of printing, and other arts, which are more remote from the conſideration of *neceſſaries*; though many things, from being articles of high luxury, have afterwards come to be generally conſidered almoſt as neceſſaries, as tea is at preſent. I ſhall juſt add that the firſt coach was ſeen in England in the reign of queen Mary, that the great convenience of a kitchen garden can hardly be ſaid to have been known before the reign of Elizabeth, that even potatoes, which is ſo conſiderable an article even of the neceſſary food

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of the poor in many counties, were only imported ſince the diſcovery of America, and that there was little or no ſugar in all this weſtern part of the world till the ſugar cane was cultivated in our American plantations.

It is a pleaſure to trace the ſeveral articles of food and dreſs from the countries where they were firſt produced, and to go over the ſeveral ſtages by which they have made their progreſs to us. This pleaſure we receive in tracing the cherry from Pontus, linen from Egypt, and ſilk from China. In ſhort, nothing that reſpects human nature, and the accommodations of mankind upon this globe is unworthy the notice of a philoſopher. Every thing belonging to this ſubject is intereſting to him, and will yield him matter of entertainment and inſtruction. With the old man in Terence, he ſays, *homo ſum, nihil humani a me alienum puto.*

LECTURE LI.

The Advantage of Commerce to a State. Its Effects upon the Minds of Men. Active and paſſive Commerce. What is the moſt advantageous Kind of Commerce. Of Fiſheries. The Importation of unwrought Materials. The Gain of the Merchants and that of the Country compared. Balance of Trade. Influence of Commerce on the Value of Land, and vice verſa. Interfering of the Legiſlature in Commerce. The Navigation Act. Reſtrictions upon Commerce. Companies. Alienation of Land. Loſs of Commerce by Perſecution. Uniformity of Weights and Meaſures. Fluctuations in Commerce. Jealouſy of Trade.

NO ſooner do men find that they can ſubſiſt, than they diſcover a deſire to improve their ſituation, and increaſe their accommodations. If the preſent *deſideratum* be not to be found at home, they will look for it abroad; and there is no ſituation man ever yet arrived at, or probably ever will arrive at, in which he can entirely acquieſce, ſo as to look out for no farther improvements. This endleſs craving, to which the nature of man is ſubject, together with the activity of the human genius, gave riſe to *commerce*, by which mankind are ſupplied from abroad with the conveniences which they could not find at home.

By commerce we enlarge our acquaintance with the terraqueous globe and its inhabitants, which tends greatly to expand the mind, and to cure us of many hurtful prejudices, which we unavoidably contract in a confined ſituation at home. The exerciſe

exerciſe of commerce brings us into cloſer and more extenſive connexions with our own ſpecies, which muſt, upon the whole, have a favourable influence upon benevolence; and no perſon can taſte the ſweets of commerce, which abſolutely depends upon a free and undiſturbed intercourſe of different and remote nations, but muſt grow fond of *peace*, in which alone the advantages he enjoys can be had.

The punctuality eſſential to all commercial dealings muſt inculcate upon the minds of all concerned in it the principles of ſtrict juſtice and honour. The only inconvenience is, leſt a conſtant attention to gain ſhould eſtrange the mind from the ſentiments of generoſity, and lead to a ſordid avarice. But they are perſons who deal in ſmall gains, and who are perſonally concerned in buying and ſelling, that are moſt liable to this inconvenience; whereas the large dealings of merchants has often a remarkably contrary effect. By commerce numbers acquire both the wealth, and the ſpirit, of princes.

Trade and commerce were ſo long confined to the lower orders of ſociety, while all the free and the noble were employed in hunting, or in war, that the idea of the former being mean and illiberal is ſtill annexed to it in many parts of Europe, and eſpecially in France. But the wealth and generoſity of merchants have a tendency to change theſe ideas, and the ſentiments of the majority will always influence the minority. Where the greater number of rich people are in buſineſs, the reſt will be aſhamed of being idle; as they ſay is the caſe in Holland; and in time the buſineſs of a ſoldier may come to be as diſreputable as that of a public executioner.

The capital, the proper and immediate, advantage of commerce is, that it excites induſtry, and increaſes labour, by the

fruits of which a nation may procure themſelves the conveniences they want, and thus human life be rendered much happier.

The benefit of commerce ariſes from the exchange of what can be ſpared for what is wanted, eſpecially that of proviſions, or unwrought materials, raiſed by the farmer, living in the country, for manufactures produced by thoſe who live in towns, and the leſs trouble there is in making this exchange the better. If every thing I want is to be had within the iſland, it is not my advantage to go abroad for it; and if the exchange could be made without money, it would be better ſtill. For money is only a convenience in making exchanges.

The foreign conſumption of any commodity occaſions the increaſe of it, by the encouragement given to induſtry at home, ſo that the more there is exported of any commodity, the more will be raiſed of it at home, which abundantly confirms the maxim of Sir William Decker that, *It is exportation which enriches a nation*, and demonſtrates, more eſpecially, the wiſdom of encouraging, as much as poſſible, the exportation of *neceſſaries*. While the Engliſh raiſe corn ſufficient to ſupply other countries, we can never be in danger of a famine at home. But before this hiſtory informs us that we had frequent famines.

The abundance which the ſcriptures inform us king Solomon introduced into the kingdom of Iſrael of ſilver, and of all things requiſite to form the conveniences and elegancies of life, by means of his fleets, both on the Red Sea and on the Mediterranean, is a fact ſimilar to innumerable others which hiſtory can exhibit in favour of commerce. Many of theſe were mentioned in the ſuccinct account which has been given of the hiſtory of

commerce

commerce; from which we may conclude univerſally that commerce never fails to make a people wealthy, populous, and powerful.

Theſe advantages never fail to attend commerce in a greater or leſs degree, whether it be of that kind which is denominated *active*, or whether it be *paſſive*; that is, whether a nation export their own commodities and manufactures, or the exchange be made by the ſhipping of thoſe countries with which they have dealings. But an active commerce is by far the moſt advantageous. The very article of making and managing the ſhips themſelves employs a great number of hands; the gain ariſing from the freight is conſiderable, and the naval force it brings to a ſtate is a vaſt acceſſion of power, and a great ſecurity to it.

On the other hand, a paſſive commerce may be of ſuch a kind as to be of manifeſt prejudice to a ſtate; juſt as a private perſon may ſpend his fortune in a fooliſh and extravagant manner.

That commerce only can be gainful to a nation which promotes induſtry, ſo as to enable the people to live in affluence without exhauſting their revenues. The moſt gainful commerce to a ſtate, therefore, is, of all others, that in which we export our own manufactures made from home materials. For this employs the labour which is neceſſary to the cultivation of the unwrought materials, the manufacturing of thoſe materials, and the exportation of the commodities which are made from them.

In this view, alſo fiſheries are peculiarly valuable; as, by means of them, it requires nothing but labour to enable us to open a very gainful market. Fiſheries alſo promote navigation, ſo as to employ a great number of ſeamen; and in fact, it is evident from the hiſtory of trade, and of all maritime powers,

not one excepted, that great fiſheries have always been epocha's of a great trade and navigation.

Next to the exportation of home manufactures, and fiſheries, the importation of unwrought materials for manufactures is valuable to a nation. It is better than the importation of money. Becauſe the manufacture of thoſe foreign materials employs many of our hands at home, and the goods that are made from them are ſure to bring in, at the leaſt, much more than the price of the raw materials.

The gain of the merchants, it is ſaid, is not always the gain of the country in general. If, for inſtance, a merchant import foreign goods, by which the conſumption of national manufactures is hurt, though the merchant ſhould be a gainer by thoſe goods, the ſtate is a loſer. As, on the other hand, a merchant may export the manufactures of his own country, to his own loſs, and the nation's gain. But if the merchants be gainers, the conſumers, that is, thoſe for whoſe uſe manufactures are eſtabliſhed, having a power of purchaſing or not, at pleaſure, muſt be ſo too. And if, after ſufficient trial, it be found that merchants importing foreign goods can ſell thoſe cheaper than the manufactures can be bought at home, it is an indication that it is not for the intereſt of the nation at large to encourage ſuch manufactures.

Though exportation makes a nation rich, we are not to judge of the quantity of riches which a nation gains by trade from exportation only, but the importation muſt alſo be conſidered. If theſe exactly balance one another, nothing can be ſaid to be gained or loſt, juſt as a perſon is not the richer for ſelling a quantity of goods, if he buy to the ſame amount. Nay, though the exportation be leſſened, if the importation be leſſened more than in proportion, it proves an increaſe of gainful trade, not-

withſtanding the decreaſe of exportation. This, however, is eſtimating the value of commerce by the mere increaſe of money. But a nation may flouriſh by internal commerce only, and what is *external* commerce between two nations not united in government, would be *internal*, if they ſhould come under the ſame government. In every fair bargain the buyer and the ſeller are equally gainers, whether money be accumulated by either of the parties, or not.

It is a great miſtake to confound the king's revenue with the gain a nation makes by its trade. No man would preſume to ſay it is more for the public benefit that the nation ſhould expend a million or more every year with foreigners, in order to raiſe a hundred thouſand pounds to the revenue, by the cuſtoms, than to ſave that million or more within ourſelves, and to raiſe only the hundred thouſand pounds ſome other way. But miniſters of ſtate are apt to eſtimate the value of every thing to the country by the gain it brings, and that immediately, to themſelves.

As commerce increaſes the wealth and populouſneſs of a nation, it cannot fail to raiſe the value of lands; ſo that what is called the *landed intereſt* is nearly concerned in the ſupport of commerce. And it may eaſily be ſhown that a decreaſe of commerce would more ſenſibly affect the landed intereſt than even the merchants, traders, and manufacturers themſelves; as theſe could more eaſily tranſport themſelves and their fortunes into other countries, than perſons who had eſtates in land.

It is true, however, that trade may increaſe the value of land, till the value of land become an obſtruction to the farther increaſe of trade. For certainly, in a country where the trade ariſes chiefly from its own productions, as is very much the caſe with England, it cannot exiſt if the price of land be exorbitant; becauſe that will raiſe the price of all commodities,

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ſo that they will not have the ſame advantage as before in foreign markets. The commerce of Holland is of a different kind, as the price of their commodities is more independent of their lands; but then that kind of commerce is very fluctuating and uncertain, as the materials of their manufactures muſt be ſupplied by other nations; who, in proceſs of time, may chuſe to manufacture them themſelves.

The legiſlature of any country has ſeldom interfered in the affairs of commerce, but commerce has ſuffered in conſequence of it, owing to the ignorance of ſtateſmen, and even of merchants themſelves, concerning the nature of trade. And indeed the principles of commerce are very complicated, and require long experience and deep reflection before they can be well underſtood. But the famous Engliſh *navigation act*, paſſed in the time of the commonwealth, is an exception to this remark. The purport of that act is, that no nation ſhall be permitted to import into this kingdom any commodities but ſuch as are the growth of the country which imports them. This act was chiefly levelled againſt the Dutch, who before ſupplied us with materials for moſt of our manufactures, but ſince that time we have fetched them ourſelves; and the conſequence has been ſuch an increaſe of the ſhipping and commerce of this nation, as has far exceeded the moſt ſanguine expectations of thoſe perſons who projected that act. But to make ſuch a regulation as this beneficial to a nation, it muſt be the intereſt of other nations to trade with us on our own terms, and we muſt take advantage of their neceſſities. The time may come in which it will be as politic to repeal this act, as it was to make it.

Moſt politicians have injured commerce by reſtricting, confining, or burthening it too much; the conſequence of which has been, that by aiming at great immediate advantage, they have

have cut off the very ſprings of all future advantage. The inconveniencies which have ariſen to a nation from leaving trade quite open are few, and very problematical, in compariſon of the manifeſt injury it receives from being cramped in almoſt any form whatſoever. It may perhaps be admitted as a good general rule, that no reſtrictions upon commerce are uſeful but ſuch as oblige the people to increaſe their own labour, and extend and improve their own manufactures. When Lewis XIV. was importuned to admit the Engliſh and Dutch herring boats, he ſaid, No, by no means, if my people will have herrings, why do they not catch them, as the Engliſh and Dutch do?

Mr. Colbert, a man of great probity, knowledge, and induſtry, was not only diſpoſed, like other European miniſters, to encourage the induſtry of the towns, more than that of the country; but, in order to it, he was willing even to depreſs and keep down that of the country. In order to render proviſions cheap to the inhabitants of towns, and thereby to encourage manufactures and commerce, he prohibited the exportation of corn, and thus excluded the inhabitants of the country from every foreign market for the moſt important part of the produce of their induſtry*. He would have done better to have liſtened to the advice of an old merchant, who being conſulted by him about what he ſhould do in favour of trade ſaid, *laiſſez nous faire, leave us to ourſelves.*

Great concerns, which require large ſtocks, and unanimity in the conduct of them, muſt neceſſarily be managed by *companies*, with excluſive privileges. Companies have doubtleſs been greatly ſerviceable for the advancement of national com-

* Smith's Wealth of Nations, vol. iii. p. 3.

merce in early times. It ſeems agreed on all hands, that if the Eaſt-India and African trades had not been in companies, they could not have been eſtabliſhed. But, notwithſtanding theſe effects, in proceſs of time, commerce is generally able to do better without them; and the continuance of them often becomes a great obſtruction to the trade being carried on in its full extent. Private or ſeparate traders are univerſally known to take more pains, and to manage more frugally, than companies can, or ever will be able to do. It may, however, be proper to obſerve, in order to prevent miſtakes, that regulated companies have not always one joint ſtock; but in many of them every member trades upon his own bottom, under ſuch regulations as their charters empower them to make.

The reaſon why companies are often continued much longer than the intereſt of the trade requires, is that, growing wealthy, they, by lending money, or other means, become of conſequence to the government, which cannot well do without them.

Excluſive and coercive powers veſted in towns corporate, and ſubordinate ſocieties, have all likewiſe been highly uſeful in the infancy of trade. In the turbulent times of the feudal ſyſtem there could have been no ſecurity for handicraftſmen and traders but in privileged places, in which they were protected by the lord of the ſoil, and in conſideration of the ſervice they did him. But they are now generally eſteemed an obſtruction to it, by enabling the members of thoſe corporations to impoſe upon their fellow ſubjects, and by diſcouraging induſtry.

As commerce conſiſts in the exchange of one thing for another, all the laws which impede the alienation of land, or of any other commodity, obſtruct commerce; beſides, that they ſink the value of land. Commerce never flouriſhed in England, till the alienation

alienation of land, was made eaſy, by the diſuſe or abolition of the feudal laws and cuſtoms, which confined it to the deſcendants of the original poſſeſſors.

All laws which make the naturalization of foreigners difficult, are a diſcouragement to commerce. To foreigners England is indebted for all its manufactures, and for all its wealth. And as it is by no means fully peopled, naturalization ought certainly to be made as eaſy as poſſible.

No prince can take a more effectual method to ruin the trade of his dominions in a very ſhort time, than by perſecution on account of religion. Philip II. of Spain abſolutely ruined the fine trade of Flanders, and enriched the Dutch and the Engliſh, by introducing the inquiſition into thoſe provinces of his empire. The Proteſtant religion is, on many accounts, more favourable to commerce than the Catholic. In Proteſtant countries no perſons are confined to convents, and a ſingle life; and the manufacturers have not their hands ſo much tied up by holidays. The Japaneſe are great ſufferers by confining their trade to the Chineſe and the Dutch, occaſioned by the averſion they have conceived for the Jeſuits. The Chineſe are ſaid to gain a thouſand per cent. in their trade with Japan, and the Dutch nearly the ſame.

In enumerating the things and circumſtances, which are, or would be, favourable or unfavourable to commerce, it is not improper to mention, that the uniformity of weights and meaſures, as well as of coins, would greatly facilitate general commerce. It ſeems impoſſible to effect this throughout the world, or throughout Europe; but one would think, there could be no very great difficulty to effect it in any particular kingdom. The uniformity of weights and meaſures would greatly facilitate

the internal commerce of Great-Britain, and this of itſelf is certainly an object of conſiderable importance.

As an admonition to the Engliſh to preſerve and cultivate their commerce with the utmoſt attention, it may not be improper to give, from Anderſon, a brief account of the principal fluctuations of commerce, in modern times. "Who would "have dreamed three hundred years ago, that thoſe ports of the "Levant, from whence, by means of the Venetians, England, "and almoſt all the reſt of chriſtendom was ſupplied with the "ſpices, drugs, &c. of India and China, ſhould one day come "themſelves to be ſupplied therewith by the remote countries "of England and Holland, at an eaſier rate than they were "wont to have them directly from the Eaſt, or that Venice "ſhould afterwards loſe to Liſbon the lucrative trade of ſup-"plying the reſt of Europe with them? Or laſtly, that Liſbon "ſhould afterwards loſe the ſame to Amſterdam, or that Amſter-"dam and Haerlem ſhould gradually loſe (as in part has already "happened, and is likely more and more to happen) their "famous and fine linen manufactures to Scotland and Ireland? "We need not add the various removes of the ſtaple for the "woollen manufacture, which was firſt at Venice, Florence, "Piſa, and Lucca, upon the early revival of commerce, after "the fall of the weſtern empire, from whence the bulk of it "removed about eight hundred years ago to the Netherlands, "and from the Netherlands about two hundred years ago into "England; or that the great ſupply of ſugars to all Europe "ſhould go from Liſbon to London, and ſince, in too great "a degree, from London to the ports of France. Fine toys, "haberdaſhery, jewels, watches, hardware, hats, ſtockings, "&c. from France and Germany into England. The various

"removes

" removes of the herring fiſhery alſo are very remarkable. Theſe " inſtances," as Anderſon juſtly ſubjoins, " render ſeveral of the " axioms of our older writers upon commerce, unſafe to be re- " lied on. Even that excellent treatiſe of Sir Joſiah Child " is already ſomewhat liable to this caution, eſpecially when he " is writing on the Dutch commerce, which was then in " its full perfection, though it has been ſince conſiderably " eclipſed."

Let us not be diſcouraged by unſucceſsful attempts to extend our commerce into countries yet unknown. Even the abortive attempts of the Engliſh, French, Dutch, and Danes for the hitherto impracticable north-weſt, and north-eaſt paſſages to China and India have, nevertheleſs, been productive of ſeveral new and conſiderable ſources of commerce, and of the increaſe of navigation to thoſe northern countries, and to the no ſmall benefit of all the reſt of Europe. For to thoſe attempts are owing the Greenland fiſhery, the Hudſon's-Bay trade, and the trade to Ruſſia and Lapland.

Many of the received maxims of commerce have for their object the enriching of one nation at the expence of others, ariſing from national jealouſy, as if the gain of one muſt neceſſarily be the loſs of the other. But the maxim is by no means true, and on the ſame principle every town in the ſame country might be as jealous of its neighbouring towns, as nations are of their neighbours.

In reality, as I have obſerved before, every fair bargain is a gainful tranſaction to both the parties, and conſequently all nations are benefited by their commercial intercourſe. And of the two, the poor are greater gainers than the rich, becauſe the wants of the poor are of a more ſerious nature than thoſe of the rich.

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The more wealthy any nation is, the greater power it will have to purchaſe the commodities of other nations, and no country has ſo many reſources within itſelf, as not to ſtand in need of others, at leaſt for ſuperfluities.

The happineſs of all nations, therefore, as one great community, will be beſt promoted by laying aſide all national *jealouſy of trade*, and by each country cultivating thoſe productions or manufactures which they can do to the moſt advantage; and experience, in a ſtate of perfect liberty, will ſoon teach them what thoſe are. In this ſtate of things, the only advantage will be on the ſide of induſtry and ingenuity, and no man, or nation, ought to wiſh it to be any where elſe.

In this natural courſe of things, the connexions of mankind, in conſequence of being found advantageous, would be ſo multiplied, that they would find a common intereſt in being at *peace* with one another, and a common loſs in hoſtility. When differences aroſe they would find ſome other method of deciding them than by force, and the world would in time recover its priſtine paradiſaical ſtate. The preſent commercial treaties between England and France, and between other nations formerly hoſtile to each other, ſeems to ſhew that mankind begin to be ſenſible of the folly of war, and promiſe a new and moſt important æra in the ſtate of the world in general, at leaſt in Europe. Our jealouſy of trade operates to make other nations poor at our own expence. For if it be the wiſh of any people to trade with another nation, it is a proof that they find themſelves benefited by that trade.

If any reſtriction on commerce was ever for the intereſt of a nation, it was as I have obſerved, that which was in part procured for this country by the *act of navigation*. It made it ne-

ceſſary for us to encreaſe our navy, and thereby made us more formidable in time of war. But this was neceſſarily at the expence of the nation in other reſpects. For it is evident that we were apprehenſive of being ſerved with many commodities by foreigners cheaper than we could be by our own people in the natural courſe of things. It was therefore only another mode of taxing ourſelves for our defence.

Dr. Smith juſtly obſerves * that no regulation of commerce can increaſe the quantity of induſtry, and conſequently the wealth of any ſociety, beyond what its capital can maintain. It can only divert a part of it into a direction into which it might not otherwiſe have gone; and it is by no means certain that this artificial direction will be more advantageous to ſociety than that to which it would have gone of its own accord.

* Wealth of Nations, vol. ii. p. 177.

LECTURE LII.

Uſe of Colonies to a commercial State. Difference between ancient and modern Colonies. Importance of our American Colonies. The Subſerviency of a Colony to the Mother Country. The Situation of Ireland. Unreaſonable Jealouſy of it. Maxims with reſpect to Money. Of the Nature of Exchange. In what Caſes a great Quantity of Money is uſeful or hurtful to a State, and how the Increaſe of it operates to produce an improved State of Society. The Coinage of Engliſh Money free.

A Great means of the amazing increaſe of ſhipping and commerce in modern times is our foreign COLONIES, of the eſtabliſhment of which the ancients had no idea. They only formed colonies, when they were over-ſtocked with people at home; whereas we almoſt depopulate ourſelves to form them. They had the advantage of the ſettlers only in view; we the advantage of the mother-country chiefly. With the ancients colonies preſently became independent of their mother-country; with us, the connexion with their mother-country is ſtrictly kept up. The ancients defended their colonies from their affection and friendſhip for their former countrymen; we fight for them, as for our property.

It was the poſſeſſion of colonies, which gave the princes of Europe an idea of the importance of trade. Our wars are now chiefly commercial wars; whereas commerce was never made an affair

affair of ſtate, before the planting of colonies in the laſt century. In fact, colonies, conducted according to the modern maxims, of their entire ſubſerviency to the mother-country, are diſtant nations, ſupplied with every commodity they want, by their mother-country, if ſhe can ſupply them with it. According to theſe maxims, in which the liberty and happineſs of coloniſts, are not conſidered, a colony muſt never interfere with the manufactures of its mother-country, and all its commerce muſt be carried on by the ſhipping of its mother-country. The inhabitants of colonies muſt not even fiſh upon their own coaſts. In ſhort, according to theſe maxims, colonies can only be for culture.

Conſidering how induſtrious the people of our colonies are, it is no wonder, if we conſider this their ſituation, that, as the ſagacious Sir Joſiah Child many years ago obſerved, every white man in our colonies finds employment for four at home. Now ſuppoſing, that ſince his time, there may be two hundred and fifty thouſand white men in all our colonies (excluſive of women and children, and alſo of negroe ſlaves, and including about twelve thouſand eight hundred ſailors employed as well in their own fiſheries as in the coaſting trade, and in that alſo about the continent and iſland colonies in two thouſand veſſels of their own great and ſmall) then is employment given to no fewer than one million of our own people at home. And as all our commerce with America, including the negroe trade, may probably employ one thouſand two hundred ſail more of our own Britiſh ſhipping, and twenty thouſand ſailors, it is eaſy to conceive how vaſtly profitable theſe our plantations are to us in every view, whether by ſetting on work ſuch immenſe numbers of our manufacturers and artificers of all kinds, or by finding employment

for our ſailors, ſhip-builders, and all the trades depending thereon *.

Whether the maxims of the abſolute ſubſerviency of colonies to their mother-country be equitable or not, I do not here conſider. But that being allowed, the Engliſh are juſtly charged with ſetting the example of ſeveral wrong ſteps with regard to colonies; as they firſt began to refine ſugars at St. Chriſtophers. It is however pretty manifeſt, that a mother-country may injure itſelf by an extreme jealouſy of its colonies. This ſeems to be clearly the caſe with reſpect to Ireland, a kingdom dependent on England, and therefore in fact, much the ſame as a colony to it. Ireland ſhould certainly be indulged in thoſe branches of trade, in which we cannot underſell the French, and they can. For the Iriſh, it is ſaid, can underſell all the world. It ſeems likewiſe to be equally ſhort ſighted policy, to prohibit the importation of any Iriſh commodities, as ſkins, tallow, butter, &c. on pretence that the permiſſion to do it would hurt the landed intereſt in England; whereas the conſequence would plainly be, to leſſen the price of our manufactures; which would increaſe our exportations, commerce and wealth, and conſequently raiſe the value of land, ſo as to be a much greater advantage in the end, than any thing that could accrue from the preſent ſale of part of its produce at a little higher price. So that Mr. Poſtlethwait ſeemed with reaſon to ſay, that preventing the exportation of cattle from Ireland, in order to encourage home conſumption, ariſes from miſtaking the nature of trade; that this monopoly of cattle in the hands of the landholders is both un-

* Theſe paragraphs were written long before the late American war, and were copied, I believe, from Poſtlethwaite. Since that war the ſtate of things in theſe reſpects is much changed.

juſt

juſt with reſpect to the reſt of the people, and its benefit to the landholders themſelves only imaginary.

Little did Great-Britain think of the price they were to pay for their foreign colonies in North America. For to this account we muſt put, beſides the expence of planting them (which indeed was ſo ſmall as to give this country very little original claim upon them), both the expence of defending them, and that of the war in which we loſt them. The war before the laſt, which was undertaken on account of the colonies, coſt Great-Britain upwards of ninety millions. The Spaniſh war of 1739 was principally undertaken on their account, in which Great-Britain ſpent upwards of forty millions. If we call the whole only a hundred millions, and add to it the expence of the laſt war with the colonies and their allies, we may ſay that they have been the cauſe of our expending no leſs than two hundred and fifty millions. Such is the foreſight and wiſdom of great nations!

Money, as a commodity, which is a convenient ſubſtitute for other commodities, is of eminent uſe in commerce; and a variety of circumſtances relating to it deſerve the attention both of the hiſtorian, who takes notice of the ſtate of trade and commerce in different countries, and of the politician, who would favour commerce.

If all men could conveniently exchange what they have for what they want, there would be no occaſion for money. But they ſometimes want to purchaſe a little more, and ſometimes a little leſs than any particular quantity that they can conveniently part with. Alſo, ſometimes they have a ſuperfluity, which would periſh in their hands, and they do not care to give it without ſome equivalent.

In this caſe it was very deſirable to find ſomething that was not periſhable, and of eaſy conveyance, which might be conſidered as the repreſentative of *value in general*. But nothing would have been choſen for this purpoſe at firſt but what had ſome intrinſic value to recommend it, a ſubſtance which had uſes of its own. Several things have been applied to this purpoſe in different countries, and at different times. But the metals have been generally found preferable to every thing elſe, eſpecially copper, ſilver, and gold. To ſave the trouble of weighing the quantity, and examining the purity, of theſe metals, the generality of nations have fallen into the method of ſtamping them; but the Chineſe ſtill take them by weight.

As the price of things cannot riſe where there is no deſire to purchaſe, ſo let that deſire be ever ſo great, the price cannot exceed what thoſe who want can afford to pay. The price of the neceſſaries of life, therefore, as Mr. Stewart ſays*, muſt depend upon the faculties of the buyer, that is, of the loweſt claſs of the people. In the greateſt famine, even bread can never riſe above that price. For then the common people muſt actually die.

The price of things does not always depend upon the labour beſtowed upon them. For ſometimes a manufacture is raiſed by thoſe who only amuſe themſelves with it, or who have no other uſe for their time. Hence the cheapneſs of all ſorts of country work in former times, and of the work of nuns at preſent.

The price of any thing in money, or goods, depends upon competition, or the demand there is for it. When any thing is much wanted, a great price will be given for it; but when

* Political Œconomy, vol. i. p. 397.

few

few want it, and the owner muſt part with it, he will be willing to ſell it for little.

Price, however, ſuppoſes alienation; and a common ſtandard of value ſuppoſes a frequent and familiar alienation. What anſwer, ſays Sir James Stewart*, would a Scotch Highlander have given fifty years ago, if he had been aſked for how much he ſold a quart of his milk, a dozen of his eggs, or a load of his turf. They bore no determinate price, becauſe they were not ſold. Where the inhabitants are fed almoſt directly from the earth, the demand for grain in the public market will be little, and conſequently the price low, whether there be little money in the country, as in Scotland formerly, or much, as in the Indies.

Let the ſpecie of a country be ever ſo much augmented or diminiſhed, commodities will ſtill riſe and fall according to the principles of demand and competition; and theſe will conſequently depend upon the inclinations of thoſe who have property, or any kind of equivalent, to give, but never upon the quantity of coin they are poſſeſſed of. At a time when the Greeks and Romans abounded in wealth, when every rarity, and the works of the choiceſt artiſts, was carried to an exceſſive price, an ox was bought for a mere trifle, and grain was cheaper perhaps than it was ever in Scotland†.

If money be above the proportion of induſtry, it will have no effect in raiſing prices, nor will it enter into circulation. It will be hoarded up in treaſure, where it muſt wait not only the deſire of the proprietor to conſume, but of the induſtrious to ſatisfy that deſire. There never can therefore remain in circulation more than a quantity nearly proportionate to the conſumption of the rich, and the induſtry of the poor‡.

* Political Œconomy, vol. i. p. 369. † Ibid. p. 403. ‡ Ibid. p. 407.

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The firſt maxim with reſpect to money, the ſtandard of all commodities, is, that the nominal ſpecies of it ſhould be ſubject to as little variation as poſſible. To raiſe the nominal value of money may ſerve a particular emergence, within a ſtate, becauſe people will ſell their commodities for the ſame words, as it were, without regard to the meaning of them, at leaſt for ſome time. Thus, it was obſerved in the laſt year of Lewis XIV. that when the money was raiſed three-ſevenths, the prices of things augmented only one-ſeventh. But with regard to foreign connexions, a prince only cheats himſelf, by that means. Foreigners will take advantage of the illuſion, whilſt it laſts, and buy their goods with their own bad money; and the par of exchange, which regulates the commerce of different countries, depends entirely upon the relative intrinſic value of the coins of different nations, without any regard to their currency where they are coined.

France robs their ſubjects by debaſing the ſtandard of the coin, and then pays her debts, and afterwards ſometimes raiſes the ſtandard again. But, ſays Sir James Stewart*, three inconveniences follow on this, firſt, it diſturbs the ideas of the whole nation with reſpect to value, and gives an advantage in all bargains to thoſe who can calculate over thoſe who cannot. Secondly, it robs the whole claſs of debtors when the ſtandard is raiſed, and it robs the whole claſs of creditors when it is debaſed. Thirdly, it ruins credit, becauſe no man will borrow, or lend, in a country when he cannot be ſure of receiving back the value of his loan, or of being in a capacity of clearing himſelf, by paying back the value he had borrowed.

It has been a falſe maxim of many princes and politicians, to endeavour to keep all the coin they can, within their own

* Political Œconomy, vol. ii. p. 67.

territories.

territories. The attempt is abſolutely fruitleſs, and if it could ſucceed, would really be prejudicial to commerce, and the true intereſt of the ſtate. Where there is money, and commodities are wanted, it will be exchanged for them, and there are ſo many ways of conveying it, that no power on earth can prevent the circulation. Beſides, money can never abandon a nation, where there are people and induſtry. Induſtry will raiſe manufactures, and manufactures will command money. Nay, ſince a great accumulation of money, which is the univerſal conſequence of an encreaſe of induſtry and manufactures, neceſſarily checks the growth of manufactures, by encreaſing the price of labour, it ought rather to be the aim of good policy, to diminiſh the quantity of current money in the kingdom, ſince otherwiſe, our poorer neighbours will always be able to underſell us.

The only inconvenience attending a ſmall quantity of current money in a ſtate will be felt in wars, or travelling abroad, where money muſt be raiſed at home to be expended abroad. For it is certain, that were a nation ever ſo rich in commodities, it could not carry on a foreign war without money: for men cannot carry commodities for their ſubſiſtence along with them. In this caſe, therefore, the more money they can raiſe at home, and carry along with them, with which to purchaſe thoſe neceſſaries, the more advantage they will have.

In this view, therefore, only, viz. in caſe of neceſſary expences abroad, is it of conſequence, that what is generally called the *balance of trade* ſhould be in favour of a nation. For certainly that nation, which ſaves the moſt money by its trade will always be the moſt powerful. It will have what ſome call, the moſt conventional riches; and hence riches are called the ſinews of war. Otherwiſe a nation might be much happier at home

home if they received no money but only the commodities they wanted, in return for thoſe they raiſed and exported themſelves.

On the contrary, where there is no induſtry and manufactures, it is impoſſible to retain money. For above one thouſand years, the money of Europe has been flowing to Rome by open and ſenſible currents; but it has been emptied by many ſecret and inſenſible ones; and the want of induſtry and commerce renders the papal territories at preſent the pooreſt in all Italy. Again, what immenſe treaſures have been expended by ſo many nations in Flanders ſince the revolution? More money perhaps than the half of what is at preſent in Europe. But what is now become of it?

It is by the encreaſe or decreaſe of the quantity of money in a ſtate, that the balance of its trade, or its gain or loſs by trade, is generally eſtimated; and as ſuperior induſtry will draw a ſuperior quantity of money, there ſeems to be ſome foundation for the maxim. But then, it only ſhews the balance, when left to its natural courſe. The Spaniſh princes, by prohibiting the exportation of coin, in fact impoveriſhed their country. As the Spaniards could not exchange it for commodities, it was to them an uſeleſs incumbrance. Nay, it was worſe than an incumbrance; for as it raiſed the price of all things at home, it made it impoſſible for them to eſtabliſh any manufactures, which could be ſold in a foreign market.

The encreaſe of money in a country has a favourable operation for a time, becauſe it firſt comes into the hands of thoſe who are thereby enabled to purchaſe the produce of the ground, or manufactures, at a higher price than had been given for them before; and this enables the farmer and manufacturer to encreaſe their ſtock. But when the price of every thing is again fixed,

the encreaſed quantity of coin only adds to the load of every man who carries it to market; and if it was a thouſand times more than it is, it would be only ſo much the greater burthen, unleſs it could be exported for ſomething of intrinſic value.

When money begins to leave any country, the preceding operation is reverſed. The farmer and manufacturer, not being able to get the uſual prices for their commodities, are diſcouraged from raiſing them, and improvement and population will for a time go backwards.

The great advantage which accrued to Europe from the diſcovery of America, aroſe not from the greater quantity of gold and ſilver with which it ſupplied us, but from new articles of conſumption and manufacture, and ſtill more from the ſpirit of induſtry which it excited among the different European nations, by ſupplying them with a new market for their commodities.

It is peculiar to this country to charge nothing for the *coinage* of money, whereas in France it pays eight per cent. This is a means of preſerving the French coin more than the Engliſh. Nobody, I believe, ſays Mr. Stewart*, ever imports louis d'ors to be coined in the Engliſh mint, notwithſtanding the benefit there is in importing gold into England from France, where the proportion of the metals is lower; yet nothing is more common than to carry guineas to every foreign mint at the bare price of bullion. This is the reaſon why ſo little Engliſh coin, and ſo much French coin, is found in circulation, in countries foreign to both nations. Louis d'ors, he ſays, in conſequence of the price of coinage, paſs current almoſt every

* Political Œconomy, vol. ii. p. 58.

where, for more than their intrinſic value, even when compared with the coin of the very nation where they circulate without the ſanction of the public authority. Thus no French coin is melted down, and when the balance of foreign trade is favourable, it returns home.

It is no manner of difference to France, he ſays*, to receive for the balance of her trade a hundred pounds of her own louis d'ors, or a hundred pounds of ſtandard gold bullion, at ſuch time as bullion is commonly carried to the mint, becauſe the one and the other will anſwer the ſame occaſions, both in the Paris market and in moſt trading towns in Europe.

LECTURE LIII.

Of the Intereſt of Money: how its riſe or fall is influenced by the State of Commerce. Of fixing the Rate of Intereſt. Of Paper-money. Paper-credit. State of the North-American Colonies in this Reſpect. Of Exchange.

TO perſons in trade, money yields as proper a produce, as lands do to huſbandmen. Hence, the uſe of it bears a price, as well as the uſe of land. And *intereſt*, which is the price of money, the univerſal repreſentative of commodities, is

* Political Œconomy, vol. ii. p. 61.

juſtly

juſtly called the barometer of a ſtate, ſhewing very nearly the comparative ſtate of the commerce and riches of the nation.

The lowneſs of intereſt is almoſt an infallible ſign of the flouriſhing ſtate of a people. It proves the encreaſe of induſtry, and a good circulation through the whole ſtate, to little leſs than demonſtration. And though a ſudden check to commerce may have a momentary effect of the ſame kind, it is eaſily diſtinguiſhed from the former. Almoſt all other means of aſcertaining the quantity of trade in a nation are very fallacious. The number of tons of ſhipping, which ſome have recourſe to for that purpoſe, affords a very imperfect rule to judge of the real riches, or trade, of two nations; for a great deal depends on the difference of bulk and intrinſic value in commodities.

High intereſt of money ariſes from three circumſtances; a great demand for borrowing; little riches to ſupply that demand; and great profits ariſing from commerce. All thoſe circumſtances are marks of a ſmall advance in commerce and induſtry. In a ſtate where there is nothing but a landed intereſt there is little frugality, and therefore borrowers muſt be very numerous; whereas traders, having gain always before their eyes, are ſaving. In a monied intereſt, therefore, there is a great number of lenders, which ſinks the rate of intereſt. It is needleſs to enquire, with reſpect to the third circumſtance, whether low intereſt and low profits, be the cauſe, or which the effect. They both ariſe from an extenſive commerce, and mutually forward each other.

This circumſtance clearly ſhews the low ſtate of commerce in ancient times. We read in Lyſias of one thouſand per cent. profit being made on a cargo of two talents, ſent to no greater a diſtance than from Athens to the Adriatic; nor is it mentioned as an inſtance of exorbitant profit. Agreeably to this, the

intereſt of money was high in ancient times, generally ten or twelve per cent. Where there is an extenſive trade, merchants will endeavour to underſell one another, and manage every thing in the cheapeſt manner poſſible, ſo as to get handſome fortunes by ſmall profits, and large dealings.

In China the legal intereſt of money is thirty per cent*. This is ſaid to be the medium between the rent of good lands, and the gains of commerce†. But the ſame authority ſays, that money laid out on lands or houſes, brings at the moſt ten per cent‡. Fifty per cent. therefore, muſt be the medium profit of commerce in that country.

Though an extraordinary quantity of money unemployed, and particularly a ſudden acquiſition of money, may for a time produce a lowneſs of intereſt, as was the caſe in Spain upon the diſcovery of America, it does not therefore follow, that where there is much money, intereſt will be low. The circumſtances mentioned above muſt be taken into conſideration. Intereſt at Batavia is ten per cent. and in Jamaica ſix per cent. though thoſe places abound more in coin than London or Amſterdam.

Whatever occaſions the hoarding of money tends to leſſen the rate of intereſt. General frugality has the ſame effect. In this ſtate of things, many will be able to lend, and few will be diſpoſed to borrow.

There does not ſeem to be any more reaſon why government ſhould fix the intereſt of money, than the price of any other commodity. The real value of this, as well as of every thing elſe, is beſt found by the want of it; and to this government itſelf muſt conform. For, by one means or other, the ſtate

* Memoirs ſur les Chinois, vol. iv. p. 336. † Ib. p. 341. ‡ P. 385.

muſt

muſt always give the price at which the money holder is willing to part with it. England, towards the cloſe of the laſt war, borrowed at much more than legal intereſt, though it was nominally at leſs; for the miniſters gave various advantages to thoſe who were willing to lend them money. There may be a convenience in having a determinate meaning to the term *intereſt*, where it is not defined by the parties themſelves; but this ſhould be as nearly as poſſible its actual value, and vary with it. When perſons want money, and the rate of intereſt is low, they muſt not only pay the real value of it, but they muſt likewiſe indemnify the lenders for the riſk they run in breaking the law.

As money is a repreſentative of commodities, ſo *bills* are a repreſentative of money; and as money is of no uſe when it cannot be exchanged for commodities, ſo are bills of no uſe, when they cannot be exchanged for money. But ſince the value of bills with reſpect to money is fixed, every bill repreſents a certain abſolute ſum, and the proportion between money and bills is not variable, like the proportion between money and commodities. There is no danger of a country being overſtocked with bills; when there is no fraud in drawing them, ſince no bill is drawn unleſs the value expreſſed in it be forthcoming. The only danger, ariſes from perſons promiſing, in the form of a bill or note, more than they may be able to pay at the time promiſed. And while a man's credit, or that of a bank, is good, their promiſſory notes will circulate exactly like caſh, without any thing being repreſented by them. But, provided paper credit, public or private, be kept within tolerable bounds, and the public or private funds be able to anſwer any demands that may be made upon them, it is ſo far from being an obſtruction to commerce, that it is a great advantage to it. It operates in the ſame manner as the increaſe of money, and hath the

ſame effects, in promoting induſtry, and bringing about a more flouriſhing ſtate of the people. But then this can never be the caſe for any conſiderable time, and in any eminent degree, except in opulent and commercial countries, and in thoſe only in which the liberty of the whole people is inviolably eſtabliſhed.

Voltaire acknowledges the importance of paper credit, when he ſays, we, viz. (the French) begin to form funds of mortgage, as among the Engliſh; and if in a ſtate purely monarchical, theſe circulatory notes could be introduced, which at leaſt double the wealth of England, the adminiſtration of France would acquire its laſt degree of perfection.

The hiſtory of the Miſſiſippi ſcheme in France, and that of the South Sea Company in England, demonſtrate the ill conſequences of the too great extenſion of paper credit. It is not, however, abſolutely neceſſary, though it be convenient, that there be actual caſh in every country, ſufficient to anſwer the paper credit of it. If there be commodities to anſwer it, it is the ſame thing in fact. In that caſe, notes are only a more periſhable kind of money. They repreſent commodities immediately without the intervention of real coin. The ſtate of our colonies in North America demonſtrate this.

It is ſaid that all the money, which our North American colonies can poſſibly get centers in England; ſo that ſcarce they, or any of our American colonies, know the uſe of gold and ſilver paſſing in current payment. They have been obliged to invent a nominal medium of exchange, viz. bills iſſued by public authority, which go as low as ſixpence. This *paper money* ſerves all the common uſes of gold and ſilver money; and notwithſtanding this ſeeming inconvenience, theſe people increaſe moſt aſtoniſhingly in numbers and riches, being furniſhed with all the conveniences of life, capable of fitting out fleets,

fleets, furniſhing and feeding armies, and all without gold or ſilver *. The Portugueſe have gold and diamonds in great quantities in Braſil, but the people are few, ill fed, and ill cloathed, nor are they capable of fitting out fleets, furniſhing or maintaining armies.

It may not be improper in this place, though I be writing for the uſe of the hiſtorian, and not of the merchant, to give an idea of the general nature of *exchange*, as the knowledge of it is neceſſary to underſtand what writers, even in an hiſtorical view, ſay upon the ſubject.

When two countries have equal demands upon one another, that is, when neither country receives more goods from the other than what it returns to the amount of in its own commodities, the exchange is ſaid to be *at par*. There is no occaſion for caſh in ſuch a commerce; a perſon who wants to remit a ſum of money, can eaſily find a perſon at home who owes that ſum abroad; and his correſpondent abroad may draw upon him payable to his neighbour. The coin of each country in this caſe only ſerves as the medium of computation in adjuſting the value of commodities, and nothing can be gained or loſt by the different price of money in either country. For in that caſe, the value of every piece of money is determined by its own intrinſic goodneſs only.

Suppoſing theſe two places to be London and Amſterdam, and the circumſtances of their trade to change, ſo that the merchants of one of theſe places, e. g. London, import more commodities from Amſterdam than they export to it, a balance of caſh will be due to Amſterdam, which it may not be eaſy to convey;

* Theſe paragraphs were written before the American war; but, relating to a real ſtate of things formerly exiſting, they are of the ſame uſe for the purpoſe of theſe lectures.

and

and there will always be more merchants in London who have money to pay at Amſterdam, than there will be who have money to receive there. Conſequently, a merchant at Amſterdam, where there are many bills upon London, muſt pay a premium to have thoſe bills diſcounted; whereas the few bills at London upon Amſterdam will bear a higher price than their real value, on account of the number of perſons who want ſuch bills, having money to pay in Amſterdam. In this caſe, the exchange is ſaid to be *below par* at London, and *above par* at Amſterdam.

It is plain from theſe principles, that when the exchange is below par, in any ſtate, that ſtate loſes as debtor or buyer, and gains as creditor or ſeller. There is therefore an additional encouragement to exportation, where importation has been exceſſive, and therefore a conſtant tendency to a balance of the importation and exportation in the ſeveral commercial countries of the world.

Lending of money, as well as paying of debts, equally turns the exchange againſt a country, which ſhews that the exchange is no rule for judging of the proſperity of trade *.

It muſt be underſtood that this account of exchange has nothing to do with the profit of the bankers. They only aſſiſt merchants in negociating their bills, and muſt be paid for their aſſiſtance, whether the perſons who employ them be gainers or loſers by their dealings.

* Sir James Stuart's Obſervations, vol. i. p. 36.

LECTURE LIV.

The Conſequences of a flouriſhing State of Society deduced. What Kinds of Luxury are hurtful. How far the Country in which Luxury prevails is hereby rendered incapable of Self-defence or the contrary. The Temper of Mind in luxurious and barbarous Ages compared. The Miſchiefs of Idleneſs. The State of Virtue in the earlier and later Periods of moſt Hiſtories. Effects of large capital Cities. The dreadful Conſequence of a total depravity of Manners. Gaming. Education.

AFTER conſidering the attention that an hiſtorian ought to give to *agriculture, commerce*, and the *arts*; which are univerſally conſidered as the principal means of raiſing all ſtates to their greateſt perfection, in the poſſeſſion of all the neceſſaries and conveniences of life, that is, of *riches*, in the only proper ſenſe of the word; we are naturally led to turn our attention to the conſequences of this happy ſtate, at which all mankind, and all nations, are aiming, in the influence it has on the tempers and manners of men with reſpect to virtue and vice, and the reciprocal influence of theſe affections of the mind upon the outward circumſtances of a people. It is only the obſervation of hiſtorical facts that can authorize us to advance any thing with certainty upon this ſubject.

As a rich and flouriſhing ſtate of ſociety is the object of all wiſe policy, it were abſurd to ſuppoſe that the proper uſe of riches was neceſſarily, and upon the whole, hurtful to the mem-

bers of it. The more conveniences men are able to procure to themſelves, the more they have it in their power to enjoy life, and make themſelves and others happy. The only danger to their virtue, and their intereſt (which always coincide) is, leſt through an immoderate indulgence of their appetites, men contract diſeaſes, enfeeble their conſtitutions, and ſhorten their lives. The gratification of their taſte for mere *ornament* in dreſs, equipage, &c. can do no real harm. Wants of this kind, more than all our other wants, promote induſtry, and are a moſt effectual means of circulating wealth. The vanity of the French makes them induſtrious, whereas the pride of the Spaniards makes them idle. It is but a little in compariſon that any man could expend in the indulgence of his appetite only. For from this account we ought to exclude thoſe expenſive diſhes, which vanity, and a taſte for elegance have introduced.

It is ſaid that the French baubles, modes and follies coſt England, in the time of Colbert, little leſs than eight hundred thouſand pounds a year, and other nations in proportion. But if the people who bought theſe ſuperfluities had money to ſpare for the purchaſe of them, what harm could there be in indulging their fancy? Let the people who complain of ſuch trifles make them themſelves, and enjoy the profits of the ſale. It was very abſurd in Philip IV. of Spain, to forbid his ſubjects the uſe of gold and ſilver ornaments, as if Spain had been an indigent republic. It is perhaps proper to reſtrain luxury in China, becauſe the lands are barely ſufficient to maintain their inhabitants. But it were better to have fewer people, and thoſe better accommodated.

It is ſaid that living in luxury tends to make men effeminate and cowardly. But on the other hand a very low and meagre diet

diet is incapable of giving that ſtrength of body, and conſequently that firmneſs of mind, which is derived from what is called better living. Inclemency of weather, extremity of heat and cold, &c. will certainly be beſt borne by thoſe who have been moſt uſed to bear them. But as natural courage depends on bodily ſtrength, and the motive which men have to exert it, ſurely more ſpirit and courage may be expected from a man who has had good nouriſhment, and who has ſomething to defend, than from one who is almoſt ſtarved, and who has little or nothing to fight for. The Engliſh common people may be termed rich and luxurious in compariſon with thoſe of the ſame rank in France; and it is thought that in general, they have both more ſtrength of body, and more true courage, than they.

Beſides, in a country where there are more riches, there may generally be expected more improvements of all kinds, and conſequently more *knowledge*. And knowledge employed in the defence of the ſtate is, in effect, an addition of power. Thus the Romans, by their diſcipline and ſkill in war, held out many centuries againſt the hardy, but ignorant, ſavages of the North.

High living, indeed, certainly enfeebles the body, and it is the ſource of many other evils. But it is far preferable to a ſtate of idleneſs, and barbarity, which is generally the alternative of it. In a people of the greateſt wealth and luxury there is never found that treachery, and cruelty, which characterize almoſt all uncivilized and barbarous ſtates; but commonly a a higher and juſter ſenſe of honour, and a greater humanity of temper. Between the firſt and ſecond Punic wars, when the conſtitution of Rome was moſt perfect, the practiſe of poiſoning was ſo common, that during one ſeaſon, it is ſaid, the prætor

puniſhed capitally for this crime about three thouſand perſons in one part of Italy.

As to the fondneſs for money, which is one great cauſe of rapacious and unjuſt methods of obtaining it, and conſequently of much vice and wickedneſs, that muſt be equal, where there are equal opportunities of knowing the uſe of it. A porter, ſays Mr. Hume, is not leſs greedy of money, which he ſpends on bacon and brandy, than a courtier who purchaſes champaign and ortolans. Nothing can reſtrain a love of money but a ſenſe of honour and virtue, which may reaſonably be expected to abound moſt in an age of luxury and knowledge. In Poland, where there are the feweſt arts and improvements of any kind, venality and corruption prevail to the greateſt degree imaginable; and in England the electors are more corrupt than the elected.

With reſpect even to a taſte for ornament, that innocent and really uſeful branch of luxury, it appears to be every where equal to its power of ſhewing itſelf. The Hottentot is as proud of his bladder faſtened to his hair, as the European of any ornament he can put on. The native Americans carry their taſte for ornament to the moſt ridiculous contrivances. Both their women, and even their men, were found with plates of gold hanging from their noſes upon their upper lips.

Idleneſs is the great inlet to the moſt deſtructive vices. It has therefore been the object of every good ſtateſman to keep the bulk of the people as much as poſſible fully employed. The Romans always ſeverely felt the effects of a diſbanded army; and the prodigious increaſe of robberies, and public violence of all kinds, is always the conſequence of the like event with us. For the ſame reaſon, a great number of livery-ſervants, who are

both idle and vicious, and have little to do, are a great nuiſance to ſociety. The unbounded violence of the feudal times was committed by men who had hardly any thing elſe to do. Almoſt all the diſorders of the Roman ſtate, towards the decline of the republic, may alſo be aſcribed to the abſolute idleneſs of moſt of the inhabitants of Rome. They were maintained by diſtributions of corn, for which they paid nothing. Conſequently all tillage and huſbandry was neglected, and they were at liberty for any act of violence they could be inſtigated to. For the ſame reaſon many holidays are very hurtful to the ſtate, and it was an excellent law at Athens, that excuſed a man from maintaining his father if he had taught him no trade.

Many ſtates in the early period of their hiſtory have been remarkable for their frugality and virtue, which, in conſequence of becoming rich, have become abandoned to vices of all kinds. The difference may chiefly be aſcribed to their conſtant employment, and an equality of rank and fortune, in the former caſe. This latter circumſtance is of conſiderable conſequence. Where there are no perſons of over-grown fortunes, there is nothing greatly to excite a ſpirit of envy, and emulation, of ambition, and rapaciouſneſs, through the influence of which men overcome their natural averſion to other vices. In the early times of the Roman commonwealth an heireſs might ſafely be truſted with her neareſt relation; but when the manners of the Romans were changed, they were obliged to alter that law. In the former, comparatively happy period, the people did not even make uſe of the power they had contended for, of chuſing their magiſtrates from their own body; but afterwards they abuſed that, and every power.

Obſervations ſimilar to theſe may be made concerning the ſucceſſion of princes in moſt empires. The kings of all the twenty-

twenty-two dynaſtics in China, began with a vigorous application to buſineſs; but their ſucceſſors grew daily more and more effeminate, till at laſt they were dethroned by ſome enterpriſing uſurper.

The largeneſs of capital cities is alſo a great means of promoting the moſt deſtructive luxury. In ſhort, luxury may be ſaid to be in proportion to this circumſtance, together with the inequality of fortunes and the riches of a ſtate. When perſons who have wealth at their command live near together, they are conſtantly and unavoidably actuated by a ſpirit of emulation to go beyond one another, in every article of extravagance and expence. And conſidering how many prudent methods there are of diſtributing money, without encouraging idleneſs, it is to be lamented that ſo much of it ſhould be ſquandered away to ſo little purpoſe. The ſame care and toil which would raiſe a diſh of peas at Chriſtmas, would give bread to a whole family during ſix months.

The conſequence of abſolute corruption and profligacy of manners is dreadful indeed. It is inconſiſtent with the very being of civil ſociety. Where the paſſion for wealth, as the means of luxury, is ſuperior to every other affection, it is no wonder if a man ſhould ſometimes think it his intereſt to ſacrifice his country, and every principle of honour and conſcience, to it.

Above all other methods, the practice of *gaming* is the greateſt incentive of avarice, profuſion, and profligacy of every kind. A man who has gained an eſtate by the turn of a die cannot be ſuppoſed to uſe it with the ſame moderation and prudence, as if he had acquired it by his own induſtry; and a man who loſes an eſtate by the ſame means ſeldom finds himſelf diſpoſed to attempt the recovery of it by any other; at leaſt,

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any more honourable. His mind is then ready to catch at any method which will enable him to repair his fortune as expeditiously as he loſt it: and if bribery and corruption be neceſſary, it is to be feared, he will not make much ſcruple of them.

There is no effectual method of reſtraining vice of all kinds but by early and deeply inculcating the principles of integrity, honour, and religion, on the minds of youth in a ſevere and virtuous education. After this they will hardly be ſeduced very ſoon; and when ſobriety and virtue are become habitual to them, they will both find their greateſt ſatisfaction in ſuch a life here, and conceive the nobleſt and beſt founded hopes of happineſs from it hereafter. And (notwithſtanding the advantages which indirectly accrue from vice and folly) men of wealth and influence, who act upon the principles of virtue and religion, and conſcientiouſly make their power ſubſervient to the good of their country, are the men who are the greateſt honour to human nature, and the greateſt bleſſing to human ſocieties.

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LECTURE LV.

The Importance of an Attention to leſſer Things than thoſe diſcourſed of above. Influence of Politeneſs in a State. Manners of the Ancients. What Form of Government is moſt favourable to Politeneſs, State of Diverſions among the Greeks and Romans. The Influence of domeſtic Slavery on the Minds of the Ancients. Manners of the Feudal Times. The Riſe and Progreſs of Politeneſs in Europe. The Conſequence of a free Intercourſe between the Sexes. The Reaſon of the high Diſtinction with which the Female Sex is treated in Europe. How far the Laws which regulate the Treatment of Women depend upon the Climate of Countries. Treatment of Women in the Eaſt, among the Greeks, Romans, and barbarous Nations.

THE ſources of general happineſs in a ſtate muſt not always be looked for in ſuch ſtriking circumſtances, as government, religion, laws, arts, and commerce, though an attention to theſe be allowed to be the moſt eſſential in a well regulated ſtate. Allowing theſe requiſites to proſperity to be in the beſt condition imaginable, we muſt wait till we have taken a nearer view of a people, in private and domeſtic life, before we can juſtly pronounce whether they really *enjoy* their ſituation, or not. We muſt not infer that becauſe men's liberty and property are ſecure, and in a way of being advanced, that therefore they are *happy*. We muſt alſo inſpect their prevailing manners and cuſtoms, conſider the terms upon which common acquaintance live and converſe together, and particularly in what manner the

the two ſexes behave to one another. Other objects of attention are ſuch as may more properly be ſaid to guard againſt unhappineſs. Theſe are the things which actually impart the chief pleaſures that ſweeten the cup of life, which diffuſe a ſpirit of chearfulneſs over ſociety, and give a reliſh to all the advantages of it.

Both hiſtory and experience inform us, that mankind are naturally ſelfiſh, ſenſual, haughty, overbearing, and ſavage; and yet without a ſpirit of moderation, humanity, and condeſcenſion there can be no good harmony and confidence in ſociety. Society, therefore, can never arrive at perfection till thoſe vices to which men are moſt prone be either eradicated, or diſguiſed, and the oppoſite virtues either acquired, or counterfeited. Abſolutely to eradicate vices, and acquire virtues, is not to be expected from the bulk of mankind. It is happy, therefore, when, from a ſenſe of decency and honour, they learn the art of preſerving the appearance of virtue. For if that appearance be habitual, and uniform, it will have nearly the ſame effect in ſociety; though the virtues themſelves would enable a perſon to contribute to the happineſs of others with far leſs pain, and mortification to himſelf.

True *politeneſs* is the art of ſeeming to be habitually influenced by thoſe virtues, and good diſpoſitions of mind, which moſt contribute to the eaſe and the pleaſure of thoſe we converſe with. And where ever nature has given the mind a propenſity to any vice, or any quality diſagreeable to others, refined good breeding has taught them to throw the bias on the oppoſite ſide, and to preſerve the appearance of ſentiments quite contrary to thoſe they are naturally inclined to.

The ancients knew little or nothing comparatively of true politeneſs, and hence we may conclude they had but little

enjoyment of ſociety. The ſcurrility, and obſcenity, which appears in the moſt admired Greek and Latin writers is abominable. That they had no idea of politeneſs properly ſo called, may be ſeen by another circumſtance. When any thing is cultivated, whether it be an art, a ſcience, or a branch of virtue, its minute diſtinctions and ſubdiviſions open themſelves to view, and are univerſally obſerved. Thus with us, a ſenſe of honour and virtue are two things; with the ancients they were the ſame: whence we may conclude, that with them they were little cultivated or underſtood; and that politeneſs, which depends very much on a nice ſenſe of honour, as diſtinct from virtue, could hardly be known to them. All the politeneſs and civility which the ancients arrived at was derived from books and ſtudy. It was a ſaying of Menander, that it was not in the power of the gods to make a ſoldier polite. So different were their notions of politeneſs from ours.

Indeed, the equality of popular ſtates is very unfavourable to politeneſs. The haughty republican who is conſtantly engaged in a fierce contention for his own prerogatives, is not likely to acquire a habit of condeſcenſion to others; whereas in monarchies, where all the members of the ſtate are more dependent on one another, and eſpecially in European monarchies, where even the prince himſelf is dependent on the people, an habitual deſire of pleaſing is naturally generated, in which all appearance of ſelfiſhneſs, and every unſociable diſpoſition entirely vaniſhes, and every one ſeems to have no other object than the eaſe and the pleaſure of others.

The perfection of complaiſance (though perhaps not proper *politeneſs*) is no where to be ſeen but in China. There, far from being confined to the higher ranks of men, even the loweſt orders of the people are actuated by it. The many forms which muſt

muſt be obſerved in the common intercourſe of life, and which muſt be all broken through before perſons can quarrel with one another, contribute not a little to preſerve the profound tranquility which reigns through the whole of that vaſt empire. The epocha of all the politeneſs the Romans ever had was the ſame with that of the eſtabliſhment of arbitrary power.

Since, however, the members of every republic are, in fact, cloſely connected with, and dependent upon, one another, and it is peculiarly the intereſt of all who are candidates for office and power to court the good opinion of the loweſt vulgar, I do not clearly ſee why complaiſance ſhould not gain ground, and become habitual, in a popular ſtate; though it muſt be acknowledged, that that *kind* of complaiſance which is acquired by courting, and adapting ones ſelf to the taſte of the populace, is very different from that complaiſance which is acquired by a man's ſtudying to recommend himſelf to his ſuperiors. It is certain, however, that it was not the form of their government only that kept the Romans ſo long ſtrangers to true politeneſs.

The Romans had none of thoſe diverſions and amuſements, which, though they contribute to the diſſipation of our time, do greatly promote the humanization of our manners. They had no viſiting days, no balls, no aſſemblies of noblemen and perſons of diſtinction at ladies' houſes. The women ſaw each other only at the ſhews, the theatres, and the entertainments begun by Nero. Even plays were ſeldom exhibited at Rome in compariſon of what they are with us. They were more frequent indeed at Athens, where gentlemen were not aſhamed to dance, or even to appear upon the ſtage themſelves; and where the manners of the people were infinitely more agreeable than the manners of the Romans, who were aſhamed of dancing,

and who took pleaſure in nothing but manly exerciſes, ſhews of gladiators, and wild beaſts.

The practice of domeſtic ſlavery could not fail to give a ſavage turn to the diſpoſition of the free-born antients, and particularly of the Romans in their later times, when they made ſo much uſe of ſlaves. What humanity, and delicacy of ſentiment could be expected from a people who were not aſhamed to ſuffer their old and uſeleſs ſlaves, when worn out in their ſervice, to ſtarve on an iſland in the Tiber, as was the common practice at Rome? It was a profeſſed maxim of the elder Cato to ſell his ſuper-annuated ſlaves at any price, rather than maintain what he eſteemed an uſeleſs burden. A chained ſlave for a porter was a common ſight at Rome. Vidius Pollio uſed to throw his ſlaves who had diſobliged him into his fiſh-ponds, to be preyed upon by the mullets. In the Roman laws ſlaves were always conſidered, not as *men*, having any rights of their own, but as *res*, the mere property of their maſters.

The feudal times, which ſucceeded the Roman empire, were as little favourable to politeneſs, and the true enjoyment of ſociety. The firſt dawnings of politeneſs in later times appeared at Florence, about the age of Patrarch. It was more conſpicuous in the family of the Medici, and at Rome in the age of pope Leo. It then made ſome figure at the court of Spain, during the flouriſhing ſtate of that monarchy; but received its laſt improvements in France, in the middle and latter end of the reign of Lewis XIV. and the French are now thought to have in a great meaſure perfected that art, the moſt agreeable of all others, *l'art de vivre*, the art of ſociety and converſation; and they have the ſatisfaction of ſeeing their

taſte for politeneſs, luxury, and entertainments, followed in all parts of Europe, which they may look upon as their own forming.

In the reign of Lewis XIII. Voltaire ſays, the minds of men were generally groſs and uncultivated; a ſavage pedantry ſoured the minds of all the public bodies appointed for the education of youth, and even thoſe of the magiſtracy. It was only under the adminiſtration of Richlieu that the French began to make themſelves eſteemed every where by their agreeable and polite manners, though that great miniſter himſelf lived to ſee but little more than the dawnings of the preſent ſplendor of his nation. He had given balls, ſays the ſame writer, but they were without taſte, as were all the entertainments before his time. The French, who have ſince carried the art of dancing to perfection, had only a few Spaniſh dances in the minority of Lewis XIV. as the ſaraband, the courante, &c. though the French vivacity, and regard for the fair ſex, were taken notice of in a much earlier period. And one may almoſt judge of the politeneſs of a people, and of all refinements in their behaviour, from this ſingle circumſtance, viz. the treatment of women among them.

Where the intercourſe between the ſexes is open, it is impoſſible but that there ſhould be a mutual deſire to pleaſe, which will give the male ſex a ſoftneſs of temper, and tenderneſs of ſentiment, which they could never have acquired by converſing with their own ſex only, and without which, the temper and manners even of the females could not have been the moſt lovely and engaging. And, indeed, the ſeeds of politeneſs, though they were long buried in the barbarity of the feudal cuſtoms (when a woman might be ſeen waiting whole days in a church till the vaſſal, to whom the feudal lord had preſented her, either married

married her, or compounded) may be diſcovered in the earlieſt cuſtoms and laws of the northern nations. The Scythians and the Goths never thought of depriving women of their liberty, but made them equal with themſeves. A fine for injuring a woman was double for the ſame injury done to a man.

Some, however, ſay that the very high diſtinction with which the ſex is treated in Europe is to be looked for from another quarter. They ſay, that a notion of African extraction got footing in Spain, that women, being the ornaments of the world, were to be *adored*, and that the ſchools of regulated gallantry, which among the Arabs and Moors were connected with the original inſtitution, found a ready reception among the Spaniards, who even improved its forms and ceremonies, and communicated them to all Europe. It is certain that the embelliſhments of the Arabian compoſitions are adventures, feſtivals and heroic feaſts, in the cauſe of love.

The laws which regulate and direct the treatment of women depend very much upon the climate of a country, ſo that ſome nations are deprived by nature of the very means of politeneſs. In warm climates men's paſſions are certainly more violent than in thoſe which are cold or temperate. This is very evident with reſpect to Spain, and moſt of the ſouthern parts of Aſia. The claſſical books of China conſider it as a miracle that a man ſhould find a woman alone in a remote apartment of a houſe, and not offer violence to her. And when love goes beyond a certain pitch it renders men jealous, and cuts off the free intercourſe between the ſexes, on which the politeneſs of a nation will always depend, ſo that nations in temperate climates ſtand the faireſt chance for this, as well as for moſt other kinds of improvement.

It muſt likewiſe be conſidered, that in hot countries women are marriageable at ten or twelve years of age, which is before their underſtandings can have ripened, and conſequently before they can have acquired any influence, and that they are generally paſt child-bearing, and have out-lived all their charms, about thirty, when their underſtandings are in perfection The conſequence of this is, that women are only conſidered as the objects of pleaſure and luxury, and not as the partakers and promoters of it.

In the Eaſt, women, being born ſlaves, have ſeldom any education. They never appear at entertainments, they impart no chearfulneſs to their maſter's heart, nor introduce gaiety into the public manners, but are always ſtrictly guarded by eunuchs as the mere property of the men. In Perſia, ſays Mr. Chardin, they give the women their cloaths, as if they were children. Indeed, it were highly imprudent in thoſe countries to conſider the women in any other light, or to give them more liberty. In Turky, Perſia, Indoſtan, China, and Japan, where the women are ſtrictly confined, their morals are admirable; whereas in the Indies, and other places where the civil government is not ſo regular, men cannot attend to the morals of their wives, their irregularities are ſaid to be very great.

It is a happineſs, ſays Monteſquieu, to live in a country where the charms of the fair ſex poliſh ſociety, and where the women, preſerving themſelves for their huſbands, ſerve for the amuſement of all.

The Athenians derived conſiderable advantage even from their courtizans who had had a good education. Their houſes were reſorted to by the firſt men in the commonwealth, and ſome of their greateſt ſtateſmen, and beſt orators, are ſaid to have derived their fineſt accompliſhments from their converſation. The hiſtory of Pericles and Aſpaſia is well known. The like advan-

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tages could not be derived from the company of the free-born Athenians. No woman of character among the Greeks ever converſed with any perſons but thoſe of her own family, and in that they were confined to the moſt remote apartment of the houſe, where the men had no acceſs. As for the Romans, what delicacy could we expect from them, when divorces were ſo eaſy and cuſtomary amongſt them, as almoſt amounted to a lending and exchanging of their wives; as Cato is ſaid to have parted with his to Hortenſius. As well almoſt might we expect delicacy or politeneſs from our anceſtors the Britons, with whom it is ſaid to have been cuſtomary for ten or a dozen men to live together, having their wives and children in common.

In all ancient nations, and early times, we read of men giving money for their wives, inſtead of receiving portions with them; a plain mark in how unfavourable a light, with reſpect to politeneſs, they were conſidered. They were not treated as the companions, but as the property, and ſerving for the convenience, of their huſbands.

LECTURE LV.

The Influence of Religion on Civil Society. In what Circumſtances it has the greateſt Force. The Uſe of it in States. Advantages reſulting from Chriſtianity in Europe. Abuſes of Religion. Of Oaths. Toleration and Perſecution. In what Circumſtances moſt violent. Effects of Superſtition, eſpecially in uncivilized Countries. Human Sacrifices. The Connexion of Modes of Religion with Forms of Government.

NEXT to the *forms of government*, and the ſubject of *laws*, the influence of *religion* on civil ſociety cannot fail to engage the attention of a reader of hiſtory; and legiſlators, and miniſters of ſtate, have too often found it one of the moſt powerful inſtruments of civil policy; the hiſtory of almoſt every country affording inſtances of its being either an excellent ally to the power of the civil magiſtrate, or the moſt dangerous rival he can have. By *religion* I here mean, in general, that principle by which men are influenced by the dread of evil, or the hope of reward, from unknown and inviſible cauſes; whether the good or the evil be expected to take place in this world, or in another; which comprehends enthuſiaſm, ſuperſtition, and every other ſpecies of falſe religion, as well as the true.

Hiſtory exhibits the moſt frequent and the moſt ſtriking inſtances of the power of this principle in barbarous nations; and therefore, if properly applied, it comes moſt ſeaſonably in aid of the imperfect ſtate of government in thoſe countries. The notion which prevailed in the barbarous times of Greece,

that the ghoſts of deceaſed perſons haunted their murderers, muſt have had a conſiderable effect to prevent thoſe violences. The ſuperſtition with which the rights of hoſpitality are obſerved in uncivilized countries, is of the ſame nature. The ſtrong propenſity to ſuperſtition in the early ages of Rome was a great means of keeping the boiſterous ſpirits of the Romans in tolerable order, in ſo ill balanced a conſtitution as theirs was. Of this there are upon record ſeveral remarkable inſtances. When the tribunes oppoſed Q. Cincinnatus in raiſing an army, contrary to the inclinations of the body of the people, and with views which were known to be oppoſite to the intereſt of the people; the old general cried out, "Let all thoſe who took "the oath to the conſul the preceding year march immediately "under my ſtandard," and they inſtantly obeyed. It was not even in the power of the tribunes to perſuade them they were not bound by that oath.

With the Romans, and many other nations in a ſtate equally barbarous, the obligation of religion was generally much ſtronger than that of the plaineſt dictates of morals. When the Roman commons at one time formed a deſign to retire to the ſacred mount, in oppoſition to the ſenate and conſuls, they ſeriouſly propoſed to kill one of the conſuls, becauſe they imagined that otherwiſe they ſhould be bound by the oath they had taken to him. The reaſon why people in barbarous countries, and unformed governments, are more liable than others to the influence of religion or ſuperſtition, equally affects all people who have little knowledge of nature, and are ſubject to a great variety of fortune and unforeſeen ill accidents, depending upon unknown and uncertain cauſes. This may eaſily be obſerved even in gameſters, though the greateſt free-thinkers, and the moſt irreligious of all mankind in moſt reſpects. What is curſing

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their ill luck, ſo emphatically and earneſtly as they often do, but a ſpecies of ſuperſtition?

The uſe of religion to a ſtate is moſt clearly ſeen in the courage of the firſt Saracens, who knew not what it was to fear death, nay exulted in the very face of it, from the belief that the joys of paradiſe were the certain and immediate reward of all who died in battle. The ſuperſtition of the Lacedemonians and Romans often checked and reſtrained their martial courage for a time, but it made it regular and firm when it was exerted. The Lacedemonians would never march till after the full moon, nor would they fight at the battle of Plateæ till the ſacrifices were favourable, though they were drawn up in their ranks ready for the engagement, and the enemy were ready to cut them to pieces. But no ſooner did the prieſts allow them the uſe of their arms, than their ſhock was irreſiſtible. In Turkey it is from religion that the people derive their greateſt reverence for the prince, which cuts off all hopes from every other family of ſucceeding to the crown, and is a great means of preſerving tranquility in that vaſt and ill-governed empire.

Theſe happy effects of religion coincide with, and ſecond, the views of the civil magiſtrate. But religion has often operated powerfully in favour of the beſt intereſts of mankind, independently of, and in contradiction to, the views of the civil magiſtrate. It has been of excellent uſe to reſtrain the extravagance of deſpotic power in all ages and all countries of the world. What would have become of Spain and Portugal, ſays Monteſquieu, if it had not been for religion? And for this reaſon, he ſays (what was mentioned before in another view) that if the Engliſh ever be ſlaves, they will be the greateſt ſlaves. It is an obſervation of Mr. Hume's, that the precious ſparks of liberty were kindled and preſerved by the

puritans in England, and that "it is to this ſect, whoſe principles "appear ſo frivolous, and whoſe habits ſo ridiculous, that the "Engliſh owe the whole freedom of their conſtitution." We ſhall take the compliment, and deſpiſe the reflection.

The capital advantage derived from chriſtianity in this weſtern part of the world is the total abolition of ſlavery, in conſequence of its raiſing men's ideas of the importance of the human ſpecies. After the introduction of chriſtianity into the Roman empire, every law which was made relating to ſlaves was in favour of them, till at laſt all the ſubjects of the empire were reckoned equally free.

Indeed, chriſtianity is almoſt incompatible with abſolute deſpotic power, both in ſovereigns and private perſons. It has, ſays Monteſquieu, prevented deſpotiſm from being eſtabliſhed in Ethiopia, notwithſtanding the heat of the climate, the largeneſs of the empire, and its ſituation in the midſt of African deſpotic ſtates.

We may, moreover, ſee in the conqueſts of Jenghis Khan, and Timur Bek, what we owe to the equitable rights of nations, eſtabliſhed by chriſtianity, which leave to the conquered life, liberty, laws, poſſeſſions, and generally religion.

Some advantages have indirectly ariſen from the greateſt corruptions of chriſtianity, from the exorbitant power of the pope, and the ſuperſtition of the popiſh worſhip. The union of all the weſtern churches under one ſupreme pontiff facilitated the intercourſe of nations in barbarous ages, and tended to bind all the parts of Europe into a cloſer connexion with each other; and thus prevented the ſeveral governments of it from falling, upon the diſſolution of the Roman empire, into that diſjointed ſtate in which they were found before the eſtabliſhment of it. And the pomp of the popiſh worſhip contributed greatly to prevent

the fine arts from being totally loſt in the barbariſm of Europe, and to their revival, antecedent to the revival of *learning* in this weſtern part of the world.

I would be far, however, from aſſerting that religion, according to the general definition I have given of it, has been univerſally uſeful in ſociety. It has often been greatly and evidently hurtful, both in the hands of the civil magiſtrate, and out of his hands. The Jewiſh ſtrictneſs in keeping their ſabbath was very near being fatal to them in the beginning of their wars under the Maccabees; as the ſuperſtition of the Egyptians was to them when they were invaded by Cambyſes, who entirely defeated them, by placing in the front of his army thoſe animals which the Egyptians thought it impiety to injure. The religion of the Egyptians was alſo in other reſpects extremely prejudicial to them. It made them averſe to all intercourſe with ſtrangers, and conſequently withheld from them all the advantages of commerce. The ancient Perſians were ſufferers by their religion in the ſame reſpect. It made them to look upon it as a crime to navigate the rivers, for fear of diſturbing the elements. Even to this day the Perſees conſider thoſe perſons as atheiſts who make long voyages.

Ignorance, and ſuperſtition (which always proceeds from a want of knowledge, putting imaginary cauſes in the place of true ones) have been the occaſion of the moſt lamentable evils in the government of ſtates. Beccaria ſays*, that there has been above an hundred thouſand witches condemned to die by chriſtian tribunals.

The ſubſtitution of ceremonial for moral duties is one of the greateſt abuſes of religion. Things of this kind, ſo contrary,

* Eſſay on Crimes and Puniſhments, p. 35.

one

one would think, to common ſenſe, would not be credible at this day, but that they are too well authenticated. But we ſee it abundantly exemplified in all religions, and as much in the abuſes of chriſtianity as in any other. The Mahometans lay the greateſt ſtreſs imaginable on things which have no connexion whatever with moral virtue. Sir James Porter ſays*, there is no command in the Koran more energetic, or held in greater reſpect by Muſſulmen, than the pilgrimage to Mecca. The pilgrim is always reckoned regenerate. He who has not been there deplores his own ſituation in life, which has not permitted him to perform this duty, and is anxious for the ſtate of his ſoul.

Falſe principles of religion have encouraged men to commit the moſt horrid crimes. Jaurigny and Balthazar Gerard, who aſſaſſinated the prince of Orange, Clément the Dominican, Chatel, Ravaillac, and all the other paricides of thoſe times, went to confeſſion before they committed their crimes†.

The oppoſition between eccleſiaſtical and civil law has been the occaſion of ſtrange inconſiſtencies in the rule of human duty.

The ſlavery of mankind to their prieſts in barbarous ages is hardly credible. Vinegas in his hiſtory of California, ſays‡, that the people of that country bring their prieſts the beſt of the fruits they gather, and of what they catch in fiſhing and hunting; theſe prieſts terrifying them with threatenings, of ſickneſs, diſaſter and failure of harveſt; at other times giving them the moſt ſanguine hopes of affluence. For they pretend to be poſſeſſed of knowledge and power ſufficient to accompliſh all this, by means of their intercourſe with inviſible ſpirits. What ſtrengthens their authority

* Obſervations on the Turks, vol. i. p. 19.

† Beccaria on Crimes, p. 54.

‡ Vol. i. p. 97.

is

is their being the only phyſicians, and all their medicines being adminiſtered with great oſtentation and ſolemnity.

The hardſhips that ſuperſtition leads men to inflict upon themſelves are ſometimes very extraordinary. Charlevoix ſays*, the invitation to hunt the bear by the nations of Canada is made with great ceremony, and followed by a faſt of ten days continuance; during which it is unlawful to taſte ſo much as a drop of water; yet they ſing the whole day through. The reaſon of this faſt is to induce the ſpirit to diſcover the place where a great number of bears may be found. At their return from the hunting, the firſt diſh ſerved up is the largeſt bear that has been killed, and that whole, and with all his entrails. He is not ſo much as flayed, they being ſatisfied with having ſinged off the hair. This feaſt is ſacred to ſome genius, whoſe indignation they apprehend ſhould they leave a morſel uneaten. They muſt not ſo much as leave any of the broth in which the meat has been boiled, which is nothing but a quantity of liquid fat; and there never happens a feaſt of this ſort, but ſome eat themſelves to death, and ſeveral ſuffer ſeverely.

The tortures which falſe religion makes men inflict upon themſelves and others are dreadful to think of. To this account we muſt put all the human ſacrifices, and eſpecially the burning of children alive in ancient times, and of women with their dead huſbands in Indoſtan at preſent. In this country there is an order of men called *Faquirs*, or *Johgies* who make vows of poverty and celebacy, and in order to obtain favour of their god Brama, ſuffer the moſt dreadful tortures. Some ſtand for years on one foot, with their arms tied to the beam of a houſe, or the branch of a tree, till their arms ſettle in that poſture, and ever after become uſeleſs; and ſome ſit in the ſun with their

* Travels, vol. i. p. 181.

faces,

faces looking upwards till they are incapable of altering the poſition of their heads. Others, it is ſaid, make a vow never to ſit or lie down, but either walk or lean. Accordingly, a rope being tied from one bough of a tree to another, a pillow, or quilt is laid upon it, on which they lean. But theſe are ſaid to alter their poſture when they pray, being drawn up by their heels to the bough of a tree, their head hanging down towards the earth, as unworthy to look up to heaven. The people, in all theſe caſes, make a merit of feeding them. Mr. Groſe ſays *, that a Gentoo was near periſhing with thirſt, though there was water enough on board, becauſe he would not taſte that which belonged to a perſon of another religion.

The cruelties of the Mexicans to their priſoners, and alſo their ſeverities to themſelves, exceed all that we know of in modern times. At the dedication of the great temple at Mexico Clavigero ſays †, there were ſixty or ſeventy thouſand human ſacrifices. The uſual annual amount of them was about twenty thouſand.

The Mexicans, being accuſtomed to the bloody ſacrifices of their priſoners, ſhed alſo much of their own blood. It makes one ſhudder, ſays this writer, to read of the auſterities they exerciſed on themſelves, either in atonement for their offences, or in preparation for their feſtivals. Among other ſeverities, their prieſts uſed to thruſt ſharp inſtruments through their tongues. Among the Tlaſcalans few could bear the ſeverities of their dreadful annual faſt ‡.

How dreadful the power of religion may be when conducted by improper hands, may be ſeen in the horrid exceſſes of the

* Travels, vol. i. p. 188.

† Hiſtory of Mexico, vol. i. p. 281.

‡ Ibid. vol. i. p. 288.

Anabaptiſts

Anabaptiſts in Germany about the time of the reformation, of the levellers in England during the civil wars, and the deſperate courage and ſhocking cruelties of that people in Aſia, from whom we borrow the term *aſſaſſin*. Theſe people were ſo devoted to their chief, that they eſteemed it glorious to die at his command, and would chearfully engage in any undertaking which he enjoined them, though they were ſure to ſuffer the moſt cruel death in conſequence of it. By the hands of theſe aſſaſſins fell many princes and chiefs of the chriſtian cruſaders in the holy wars; and no precautions could be effectual againſt their attacks. For almoſt any man may command the life of another, if he make no difficulty of ſacrificing his own.

The evils which countries have ſuffered in conſequence of the mad ſuperſtition of their magiſtrates are endleſs to enumerate, and horrible to think of. Above eight hundred perſons were burned in England for their adherence to the proteſtant religion in queen Mary's reign; and in the ſeveral perſecutions promoted by Philip II. no leſs than a hundred thouſand perſons are ſaid to have periſhed by the hand of the executioner. Philip III. from the ſame principle, drove more than nine hundred thouſand Moriſcoes out of his dominions by one edict, with ſuch circumſtances of inhumanity in the execution of it as Spaniards alone could exerciſe, and the inquiſition alone approve. This inquiſition, as Sir Joſiah Child obſerves, has contributed more to depopulate Spain than all its vaſt ſettlements in the Indies.

Voltaire ſays, that no leſs than fifty thouſand families quitted France in the ſpace of three years after the revocation of the edict of Nantes, and were afterwards followed by others who carried their arts, manufactures, and riches with them into foreign countries. Thus France loſt about five hundred thou-

ſand inhabitants, an immenſe quantity of ſpecie, and, what is ſtill more, the arts, with which their enemies enriched themſelves. Holland gained officers and ſoldiers. The prince of Orange, and the duke of Savoy, had three regiments of French refugees.

No ſtate ever ſuffered more in its conſtitution and adminiſtration by the influence of religion than the empire of Conſtantinople, for ſome centuries before its final diſſolution. The monks interfered with all public buſineſs, and public buſineſs was often ſhamefully neglected for the ſake of religion. The emperors would be preſiding in councils, where the idleſt of all controverſies were diſcuſſed, inſtead of conſulting about affairs of ſtate in their cabinet, or being at the head of their armies in the field. They were at one time ſo far ſunk in ſuperſtition, that Conſtantine *Le Barbu* took his two brothers to reign along with him, in imitation of the Trinity.

Theſe evils, and particularly thoſe ariſing from perſecution, ought certainly to be taken into the account when we make an eſtimate of the benefits accruing to the world from chriſtianity. The moſt illuſtrious examples of toleration are certainly not to be found among chriſtians. Mahometans in general are much more generous in their ſentiments on that head, notwithſtanding their religion was indebted, for its firſt propagation and extenſive ſpread, chiefly to the ſword. But this difference is owing to the greater attachment which chriſtians have to their religion, and their belief of the importance of the tenets of it. If Jenghis Khan, and Timur Bek tolerated all religions by public edicts, which is certainly much to their honour; it muſt be conſidered, that they were men who payed little regard to religion themſelves, and thought the various modes of it to be a matter of very little importance to the world. All the people in

in the eaſt, except the Mahometans, believe all religions to be in themſelves indifferent.

The religion of the Gentoos is the moſt tolerant of any. They think that a diverſity of worſhip is agreeable to the God of the univerſe, and they refuſe to admit or make any converts. With all their religious horror at the killing of an ox, they have no averſion to others who do it.

The Mahometans, though they do not perſecute to death, yet conceive the greateſt abhorrence of other religions. It is early inculcated on their children, who are taught to call unbelievers by the moſt approbrious names. Take the moſt miſerable Turk, ſays Sir James Porter*, dependent on a chriſtian, one who lives by him, and ſtarves without him; let the chriſtian require of him the *ſalutation of Peace*, or *peace be with you*, he would ſooner die than give it. He would think himſelf abominated by God. The moſt they dare ſay, and many think it ſaying too much, is *good be with you*.

It is not, however, doing this argument juſtice to ſuppoſe that there was nothing like perſecution among the ancients. Laws againſt external ſuperſtition were of old ſtanding, and very ſevere among the Romans, though, in general, they were not rigorouſly executed. Immediately after the conqueſt of Gaul, they forbad any of the natives, under pain of death, to be initiated in the religion of the Druids. In Greece too a conformity to the eſtabliſhed religion, and even a reſpect for the moſt ridiculous traditions belonging to it (ſuch as the magiſtrates themſelves, in the enlightened ages of Greece, cannot be ſuppoſe to believe) were enforced by ſevere civil penalties. Stilpo was baniſhed by the council of Areopagus for affirming

* Obſervations, vol. i. p. 15.

that the Minerva in the citadel was not a divinity, but the workmanſhip of Phidias the ſculptor.

It is obſervable in the hiſtory of perſecution, that it is always the moſt violent between ſects which are the moſt nearly related. The greater is their agreement, the more ſtriking are the few points in which they differ; and the more do thoſe parties which approach near, and yet cannot unite, interfere with one another. In Perſia, all religions are tolerated except the ſect of Omar. The Jews were ſpared in queen Mary's perſecution of the proteſtants, and are to this day tolerated in Rome, and many popiſh countries.

A perſecution that is tolerably moderate, either in time or degree, is certainly favourable to the growth of any religion; according to the old maxim, that "the blood of the martyrs "is the ſeed of the church;" but the ſmall number of proteſtants in Spain and Portugal, ſince the erection of the inquiſition, proves beyond all doubt, that long and great hardſhips are capable of exterminating a religion. However, in general, as Voltaire ſays, politicians would find that the ſureſt method of exterminating religion is by rewards, and not by puniſhments, to make men forget it, and not to think of it.

In all governments, I believe, advantage has been taken of the general regard to religion, to enforce the obligation of truth; men being required to make a ſolemn *appeal to God*, or other inviſible powers, with an implied imprecation upon themſelves if they falſified. This practice may have ſuited pretty well with a barbarous and ſuperſtitious age, but it is now found to be attended with many inconveniences. Oaths are ſo multiplied in ſome countries, and required in caſes in which the temptation to violate them is ſo great, that the reverence due to them is much declined, and with that a reſpect for religion and morality

in

in general, which makes the oath itſelf of little effect; ſo that the intereſts, both of religion and of government, are injured by this connexion.

Much better were it for civil governments to content themſelves with enforcing the obligation of truth by ſuch penalties as are uſed on other occaſions, and to puniſh all falſe affirmations before a magiſtrate as they now do perjury. But, in many caſes, there can be no occaſion to compel any perſon to make a declaration reſpecting himſelf, or his conduct, as it might be ſufficient to puniſh him when it could be proved that he was guilty of any violation of the laws. Oaths of allegiance are unneceſſary when the puniſhment of treaſon is ſevere, and the courts of juſtice are open to accuſations.

In this country we loſe the benefit of the ſolemn affirmation of the Quakers in criminal caſes, when no man would doubt the value of it.

The oaths taken by kings at their inauguration are as inconvenient, and therefore as improper, as thoſe that are adminiſtered to the ſubjects; and, like other perſons, ſovereigns have had recourſe to very lame expedients in order to evade them. The kings of France, at their coronation, ſwear to exterminate heretics. But though Lewis XIII. and XIV. took this oath, they declared that it did not include the proteſtants, though they were the only heretics in the kingdom*.

In conſidering the advantages or diſadvantages of religion in a ſtate, the ſuitableneſs of the mode of religion to the form of government ſhould be attended to. A religion which has no viſible head agrees beſt with that ſpirit of liberty and independence which prevails in the north of Europe; though the

* Life of Mr. Turgot, p. 182.

maxim

maxim of king James, *No Biſhop no King*, is by no means univerſally true. Superſtition is rather favourable to monarchical power. But enthuſiaſm is obſerved to be an enemy to all power in the hands either of civil magiſtrates, or eccleſiaſtical perſons. The independents joined the deiſts in favour of a republic during the civil wars in England; and the Quakers, the moſt enthuſiaſtic of all the ſects that ever aroſe among chriſtians, have no prieſts at all, and are likewiſe thought to favour an equal republic.

The enormous riſe of the papal power is an amazing example of the encroachment of the eccleſiaſtical upon the civil authority, and furniſhes a warning to all civil magiſtrates to keep a watchful eye upon ſo inſidious and dangerous a rival. The riſe, progreſs, and declenſion of this power make a moſt important and intereſting object of attention for many centuries. And this is ſo far from being foreign to civil hiſtory, that it is the principal and almoſt the only ſubject of it. A little before the reformation, the clergy had engroſſed a very large proportion of the lands of all chriſtian countries; and the popes, chiefly by means of the various fraternities of monks in every kingdom, who were immediately dependent upon themſelves, had often equal power, even in temporal things, with the lawful ſovereign, and ſometimes ſuperior.

LECTURE LVII.

Of civil Eſtabliſhments of Religion. Tythes. Statutes of Mortmain. The Influence of Philoſophy on civil Affairs. The Influence of the different Sects of the Greek Philoſophy upon Stateſmen and their Meaſures in ancient Hiſtory.

THE care which civil governors have thought themſelves bound to take of the intereſt of religion, though it has been productive of ſome good, has been the ſource of much and laſting evil in ſtates. Naturally there can be no more connexion between *civil government* and *religion*, than between the former and any thing elſe that depends upon *opinion*, leſs than the buſineſs of philoſophy, or medicine. Becauſe theſe reſpect the preſent life, with which civil governors have to do; whereas religion reſpects the life to come, with which they have nothing to do.

Civil governors in general are ſo educated, that it cannot be ſuppoſed they are able to decide concerning religious truth, or be the beſt judges who are qualified to decide concerning it*.

* It may be ſaid that, though the king, and the members of parliament, be not themſelves theologians, they can call in the aſſiſtance of thoſe who are. But by what lights muſt they judge, who are the moſt proper to adviſe them? "The "ſcience of another," ſays the ingenious author of the life of Mr. Turgot, "may "aſſiſt our knowledge; but can never ſupply the want of it. For it is impoſſible to "judge rightly through another, of that of which we cannot judge by ourſelves." If any religion be already eſtabliſhed, the governors of a country will of courſe adviſe with the friends of it, and others who are intereſted in its ſupport. But they will never in this way be led to reform any great abuſes.

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But the principal ſufferer by this alliance between the church and the ſtate is religion itſelf, that is, the members of ſociety, as profeſſors of religion, and deriving advantages from it. For when it is thus guarded by the ſtate, if it be faulty, or wants reformation, it muſt long continue ſo. The profeſſors of it, being intereſted in its ſupport, will do every thing in their power to prevent any alteration, though it ſhould be ever ſo much wanted.

Accordingly, it was never known that any reformation of chriſtian eſtabliſhments aroſe from the body of the clergy, but their whole weight was always oppoſed to it. Single perſons having conceived ideas of reformation, have recommended their opinions to others, and thus by degrees the great body of the common people have been gained over, and at length the civil governors have found the call for reformation ſo loud, that they have thought it prudent to comply with it. The clergy have then turned with the court, and have become (as from their intereſt it might be expected they would) as zealous for the new ſtate of things, as they had been for the old.

Theſe facts are too evident to be denied; and yet the intereſt of the clergy, ariſing from their emoluments, and that of the magiſtrate, ariſing from his wiſh to keep things quiet, and alſo the intereſt that many of the laity have in the ſupport of eccleſiaſtical eſtabliſhments, which is various and complicated, ſtill blind the minds of many, and contribute to keep things as they are, in the moſt enlightened countries in Europe.

It is alleged in favour of theſe eſtabliſhments, that religion has an influence on the conduct of men in this life. No doubt it has, as it connects the hopes of a future life with good behaviour in this. But this is done in all ſects of chriſtians, and as much in thoſe which are reprobated by the ſtate, as thoſe which

which are encouraged by it. Beſides, if this was the true cauſe of attachment to chriſtian eſtabliſhments, the friends of them would be much more jealous of unbelievers than they are of ſectaries, which does not appear to be the caſe.

It is alſo ſaid, that the ſubject of religion is ſo intereſting to the generality of mankind, that if government did not interfere, the contention about it would be ſo violent, that the public peace could not be preſerved. But theſe contentions are much encreaſed by the favour ſhewn to one mode of religion, and the opprobium which is conſequently thrown on the reſt; and where temporal intereſt is not concerned, mere *opinions* will not occaſion any differences at which government need to be alarmed. Chriſtianity ſubſiſted without any favour from the governing powers for about three hundred years; and there is no place where there are more forms of religion openly profeſſed, and without the eſtabliſhment of any of them, than Pennſylvania, and other provinces of North America at this day; and there is no proſpect of this circumſtance being attended with any danger to the ſtate.

By undertaking the care of religion, the ſtate has taken upon itſelf a great, a dangerous, and an unneceſſary burthen, and from its jealouſy of ſectaries, often deprives itſelf of the ſervices of its beſt and ableſt ſubjects; and at ſome times it has been induced to perſecute and deſtroy them, becauſe if they were left alive, it was apprehended their principles might ſpread, to the endangering of the eſtabliſhment.

The good ſenſe of modern times, though it has not proceeded ſo far as to produce a general conviction of the inexpediency of church eſtabliſhments, has ſhewn the folly of *perſecution*, and has produced a *toleration* of religion, more or leſs complete.

It is more imperfect in this country than in moſt others, even the catholic ones, becauſe in them proteſtants may be admitted to ſuch offices of truſt and power as they are excluded from in this. One would think that chriſtian governments might content themſelves with eſtabliſhing the chriſtian religion in general, without confining themſelves to any particular mode of it. But ſo far is this from being the caſe, that by the preſent laws of this country, a man who denies the doctrine of the trinity, which has no more imaginable connexion with the good of the ſtate than the doctrine of tranſubſtantiation, is deemed a blaſphemer, and ſentenced to ſuffer confiſcation of goods and impriſonment.

In this country the care which the government takes of religion extends itſelf to the buſineſs of *education*, confining the univerſities, which are ſupported by the national funds, to the education of the members of the church of England, and rigorouſly excluding all ſectaries, either by requiring ſubſcription to the thirty-nine articles at the time of matriculation, or obliging the ſtudents to attend the ſervice of the eſtabliſhed church, and to declare that they are *bona fide* members of it.

In all other countries, the eſtabliſhed religion is that of the majority of the people, and the writers in defence of it vindicate it on this principle, viz. that it is the religion of the majority, whatever that be. But in Ireland we have a moſt remarkable exception to this rule. There the eſtabliſhed religion is not that of the majority, but of a ſmall minority of the people, perhaps not more than that of one in ten of the inhabitants. That ſo flagrant an abuſe of power ſhould exiſt, and under a government pretending to juſtice, and even to liberality, is barely credible. Yet ever ſince the reformation the members

of the church of England have kept poſſeſſion of the tythes of the whole iſland, when they have long deſpaired of bringing the people over to that religion for which they pay ſo dear.

The moſt equitable eſtabliſhment of chriſtianity (which is far from wanting any ſuch ſupport) would be to oblige every perſon to pay a certain proportion of his income to the maintenance of it, but leave it to himſelf to determine the mode, and to let his contribution be given to that miniſter whom he approves. This has long been the cuſtom in ſome parts of North America, and no inconvenience whatever has ariſen from it.

But the chief inconvenience which is to be expected from theſe civil eſtabliſhments of chriſtianity, will be found when the reformation of abuſes in them can be deferred no longer. What convulſions in ſtates were produced at the time of the reformation, from the obſtinacy of the court of Rome, and their refuſing to alter any thing, though the abuſes were ever ſo manifeſt? In theſe caſes ſo many intereſts are involved, that though all may wiſh for ſome change, they may not be able to agree where to begin. Happy would a ſenſible miniſter of ſtate think himſelf, if he could get rid of ſuch an incumbrance; but he may not know how to do it. And thus the evil which in the progreſs of knowledge will every day become more manifeſt, and which muſt in the end be redreſſed, is continued from year to year, till that which might have been done by degrees, and without violence, muſt be done at once, and with violence. For the conſequences of this the rigid abettors of ſuch eſtabliſhments are anſwerable.

The mode by which chriſtianity is ſupported in this and ſome other countries, viz. by *tythes*, or a tenth part of the fruits of the ground, is peculiarly burthenſome to the country, and in other reſpects highly inexpedient. Conſidering that the clergy

do not contribute to the expence of raiſing the produce, the tenth is in ſome caſes half the value of an eſtate. The farmer, or the proprietor of the land, knowing that he muſt pay ſo great a proportion of his produce, is diſcouraged from expenſive culture, naturally grudging the benefit which another muſt derive from it.

Upon the rents of rich lands, the tythes, Dr. Smith ſays *, may ſometimes be a tax of no more than one-fifth part, or four ſhillings in the pound; whereas upon that of poorer lands, it may ſometimes be a tax of one-half, or of ten ſhillings in the pound.

We are told in the life of M. Turgot, that in France the clergy enjoy near one-fifth part of the property of the kingdom.

On the other hand, in 1755 the whole revenue of the church of Scotland, including their glebe, or church lands, and the rents of their dwelling-houſes, amounted only to ſixty-eight thouſand five hundred and fourteen pounds; ſo that, Dr. Smith ſays, the whole expence of the church, including occaſional buildings and repairs, cannot well be ſuppoſed to exceed eighty or eighty-five thouſand pounds a year; and he ſays the moſt opulent church in chriſtendom does not better maintain the uniformity of faith, the fervour of devotion, the ſpirit of order, regularity, and auſtere morals, in the great body of the people, than this very poorly endowed church. He likewiſe ſays, that the greater part of the proteſtant churches in Switzerland, which in general are not better endowed than the church of Scotland, produce theſe effects in a ſtill higher degree †. I will venture, however, to add, that all theſe effects, as far as they are deſirable, are produced in a yet

* Wealth of Nations, vol. iii. p. 275.

† Vol. iii. p. 236.

higher

higher degree in the congregations of Diſſenters in this country, who have no eſtabliſhment at all, beſides being attended with other advantages which are neceſſarily excluded by eſtabliſhments. I mean particularly the gradual and eaſy progreſs of truth, and the ſpread of rational religion.

To the whole ſtate, tythes might be a kind of tax not extremely inconvenient, as, together with having an intereſt in the improvement of the country, it would be able to give effectual attention to the buſineſs, and promote it; whereas clergymen, though intereſted in the payment of the tythes, can ſeldom do any thing towards promoting the raiſing of the produce that muſt ſupply them.

Alſo, differences between the clergy and the people are the unavoidable conſequence of this mode of ſupporting religion, and this muſt greatly leſſen the influence of their inſtructions. In Holland the miniſters are paid from the funds of the ſtate. This the Engliſh clergy object to, as liable to become of leſs value, by the ſinking of the value of money. But if this ſhould be found inſufficient, their ſalaries may from time to time be augmented; and what greater ſecurity for their maintenance *ought* the clergy to require, than that of thoſe taxes, from which all other officers, civil and military, receive their wages.

As the clergy are a body that never dies, their accumulation of wealth ought to be checked by ſtatutes of mortmain. In Caſtile the clergy have ſeized every thing; but in Arragon, where there is ſomething like an act of mortmain, they have acquired little, and in France leſs ſtill.

Rich eſtabliſhments of religion are by no means peculiar to chriſtianity. There are more bonzes of Tao-ſee, and of Lama, in Peking, than there are eccleſiaſtics and monks in Paris. There are more than ſix thouſand bonzeries in the city and diſtrict of Peking,

Peking alone, and many of theſe buildings in China are richer, and more magnificent, than the moſt celebrated abbeys in Europe*. There could not be leſs than a million of prieſts in the empire of Mexico †.

Philoſophy, and the various modes and tenets of it, are not to be wholly overlooked, while we are attending to thoſe things which have an influence upon the happineſs of ſociety. The power of philoſophy, though by no means equal to that of religion, has yet, in many inſtances, appeared to be very conſiderable. The Indian philoſophers chuſing to throw themſelves into the fire as the univerſal purifier, inſtead of dying a natural death; and Calanus, agreeable to their cuſtoms, burning himſelf with great compoſure in the preſence of Alexander the Great, may perhaps be aſcribed to religious conſiderations, and certain expectations after death. The ſame may perhaps alſo be ſaid of the effects of the doctrine of Metempſychoſis, which is given by Monteſquieu as the reaſon why there are few murders in India, and alſo for the remarkable care which is obſervable in the ſame people for the ox, a creature very neceſſary in that country, and which multiplies very ſlowly there.

But nothing can be more certain than that a taſte for philoſophy, and ſcience of any kind, tends to ſoften and humanize the temper, by providing the mind with other and more agreeable objects of purſuit than the gratification of the groſſer appetites. It is this which in all ages has diſtinguiſhed civilized nations from thoſe which are uncivilized, and muſt certainly be allowed to put in a juſt claim, along with the chriſtian religion, for a ſhare in producing the ſuperior humanity of

* Memoirs ſur les Chinois, vol. iv. p. 317. † Clavigero, vol. i. p. 270.

modern

modern times. In China it had for many ages produced nearly the ſame effect, without any foreign aid. All the ancients, Plato, Ariſtotle, Theophraſtus, Plutarch, and Polybius, repreſent muſic as abſolutely neceſſary in a ſtate. The ſtates of Greece, diſdaining mechanic arts, and employed in wreſtling and martial exerciſes, would have been abſolutely fierce and brutal, without ſomething of that nature to ſoften the mind. The fine arts ſerve as a medium between ſcientifical ſpeculation and bodily exerciſes and gratifications.

Philoſophy entered not a little into the ſecret ſprings and cauſes of action in ſome very critical periods of the Grecian, and particularly of the Roman Hiſtory, by influencing the temper and conduct of ſome of the principal actors in thoſe times. It is probable that if Brutus had not been a Stoick, he would not have entered ſo unfeelingly into the conſpiracy againſt Cæſar his benefactor. The Stoick philoſophy made men deſpiſe life, and diſpoſed them to kill themſelves. The diſgrace of being triumphed over made Cato and Brutus eaſily prefer death to it, as more conſiſtent with their dignity and honour.

By this philoſophy, ſays Monteſquieu, are made excellent citizens, great men, and great emperors. Where, ſays he, ſhall we find ſuch men as the Antonines? In their time the Stoick philoſophy prevailed much at Rome. On the contrary, the Epicurean philoſophy contributed much to corrupt the morals, and break the manly ſpirit of the Romans. Fabricius hearing Cyneas diſcourſing about this philoſophy at the table of king Pyrrhus, cried out, May our enemies have thoſe notions.

LECTURE LVIII.

Of the Populouſneſs of Nations. The Influence of good Laws and Government. Eaſy Naturalization. What Uſe of Land will enable the People to ſubſiſt in the greateſt Numbers upon it. Circumſtances by which to judge of the populouſneſs of ancient Nations. How Trade and Commerce make a Nation populous. Equal Diviſion of Lands. Uſe of Machines. Of large and ſmall Farms, and incloſing Commons.

WE have now been taking a view of the principal circumſtances which contribute to the flouriſhing and happy ſtate of ſociety, I come in the next place to direct your attention to thoſe objects which tend to make a nation *populous*.

The moſt important obſervation upon this ſubject is, that the ſtate the moſt favourable to populouſneſs, is that in which there is a concurrence of thoſe circumſtances which render a nation *happy*. All living creatures abound moſt in thoſe places in which they can find the moſt plentiful and eaſy ſubſiſtence. And, for the ſame reaſon, where men are governed by good and equal laws, in which agriculture, commerce, and the arts, are favoured, and by the exerciſe of which they can get an eaſy ſubſiſtence, they are encouraged to enter into thoſe connexions which are favourable to the propagation of their ſpecies. This is the reaſon why infant colonies generally encreaſe ſo much faſter than their mother country.

Beſides, foreigners, and particularly ingenious foreigners, will flock to thoſe countries which are well governed, and

where they can eaſily maintain themſelves and their families. And this inlet to a multitude of inhabitants ought by no means to be ſlighted by a wiſe magiſtracy, but ought to be encouraged, by making naturalization as eaſy as poſſible; though it be acknowledged to be more deſirable to ſee a people increaſe from themſelves, by the ſole influence of a good internal conſtitution, without the aid of foreign reſources. The attachment of natives to a country may be more depended upon than that of foreigners, who may be as eaſily induced to leave us, as they were to come among us.

If a people live upon the produce of their own ſoil (and it is not perhaps deſirable for a country to be more populous than that would admit of) they will be able to ſubſiſt in greater numbers if they conſume the produce themſelves, than if they live upon cattle, which conſume the produce firſt; that is, more will ſubſiſt by mere agriculture, than by grazing: And more will ſubſiſt by grazing (that is, by promoting the growth of vegetables, in order to feed tame cattle) than could ſubſiſt upon wild cattle roaming at large, in a country upon which no cultivation is beſtowed. Accordingly we find, that thoſe parts of North America in which the inhabitants live chiefly by hunting are very thinly peopled.

Theſe circumſtances may be ſo much depended upon, that if we only know the manner of life of any ancient or modern people, we cannot be very far impoſed upon by accounts of their populouſneſs. Thus we can never think that the northern parts of Germany were near ſo populous in ancient times as they are at preſent, though they no longer ſend forth thoſe ſwarms of people upon the ſouthern parts of Europe, which made them be called the *northern hive*; when we have the teſtimony of all antiquity, that the country was almoſt one continued wood, and

that the people lived chiefly by feeding cattle; or if they did live in part upon vegetables, it is allowed that the knowledge of agriculture was very low, and therefore they could raiſe but little from the ground in compariſon of what the inhabitants do now. Nor is it poſſible to believe there ever ſhould have been four millions of people in Cuba, the greateſt part of whom the Spaniards are ſaid to have maſſacred, when the face of the country never had the appearance of being ſufficiently cultivated for that purpoſe.

In a country fully peopled, as few horſes, or other beaſts of burden, will be uſed as poſſible, becauſe if the labour can be done by men, there will be ſo many, that it will be worth their while to do it rather than want ſubſiſtence. By this means the population of any country may be prodigiouſly increaſed, as more land is wanted to maintain a horſe than a man. In China men may be ſaid to have almoſt eaten out the horſes, ſo that it is cuſtomary to be carried along the high roads to the greateſt diſtances by men. The ingenuity of men alſo enables them to do more labour by machines, and leſs by horſes, continually.

Of vegetables, the cultivation of *rice* ſeems to be the moſt favourable to population. It employs a great number of men, and hardly any part of the work can be done by horſes. It is ſaid, however, that more ſtill may ſubſiſt on potatoes. Hume ſays, that a country whoſe ſoil and climate are fitted for vines will be more populous than one which produces only corn; but then it ought to be conſidered, that the people cannot live upon their vines. This caſe, therefore, ought to be regarded in the ſame light as that in which manufactures, trade, and commerce, tend to make a country populous. They draw a great number of people together, to live in one place, but their ſubſiſtence muſt be brought from other places, and conſequently be

be ſomewhat precarious; as being dependent upon thoſe places. While both thoſe places are under the ſame government, the inconvenience is nothing, as that Middleſex ſhould be more populous than any other county in England, and not able to maintain its inhabitants; but when they are under different governments, it is poſſible the inconvenience may ſome time or other be felt. Where the ſea ſupplies people with food, they may ſubſiſt in the greateſt numbers in any given ſpace.

A nearly equal diviſion of lands, and thoſe diviſions ſmall, greatly favours population. In this caſe, a family will raiſe only neceſſaries, being obliged to make the moſt of their little ſpot of ground for their immediate ſubſiſtence. This circumſtance contributed greatly to the extreme populouſneſs of ſeveral of the Grecian republics, and of Rome in the earlieſt times. Where large portions of land are in the poſſeſſion of a few, no more hands will be kept upon them than are ſufficient to reap the produce. Moreover, that produce will conſiſt very much of ſuperfluities, which contribute little to real nouriſhment; or which is much worſe, will be exchanged for ſuperfluities raiſed in other countries.

This is the only caſe in which machines, as mills, ploughs, and all contrivances to facilitate the practice of huſbandry, ſo as to get the ſame labour performed by fewer hands, are hurtful to population. For by theſe helps a perſon of a large eſtate will be able to reap the full produce of his lands, with the expence of few men upon them.

But theſe machines, and this more perfect method of huſbandry, is no evil to be complained of, if the produce of the lands, thus eaſily reaped, be diſpoſed of to purchaſe ſuperfluities raiſed at home; eſpecially if thoſe ſuperfluities conſiſt not of eatables. For then, the lands yield their full produce

in the neceſſaries of life, and all who ſubſiſt upon them live within the country. The only difference is, that whereas, in the former caſe, they were all huſbandmen, and could not be fully employed (much fewer men than the produce is able to maintain being ſufficient to reap it) they are now only in part huſbandmen, and the reſt artiſans.

Beſides, the fewer huſbandmen are neceſſary, the more men may be ſpared for the arts and manufactures, and conſequently the more may be ſpared, and with leſs inconvenience, for the defence of the ſtate, in caſe of a neceſſary war. Not to ſay that the proſpect of purchaſing manufactures will be a motive with the huſbandmen to exert themſelves to the utmoſt, to raiſe the greateſt crops, the ſale of which will farther promote the manufactures, and increaſe the number of manufacturers. In France, England, and moſt parts of Europe, half of the inhabitants live in cities, or pretty large towns, and perhaps above one-third of thoſe who live in the country are artiſans.

If theſe artiſans, or manufacturers, can make more goods than the home conſumption requires; that is, more than the produce of their own country can purchaſe, and they find a vent for theſe goods abroad, they will have wherewith to purchaſe the produce of other countries, and conſequently their own country will be able to contain more inhabitants than it would otherwiſe have been. But then, for the reaſon given above, it may not perhaps be deſirable for a country to grow ſo populous; though it is probable, that no country in the world was ever in danger of being too populous on that account, except Holland; and China is perhaps more populous on other accounts.

Conſidering that the greater proportionable populouſneſs of moſt modern ſtates is owing to manufactures and trade, it is

evident that countries may be expected to be populous in proportion to the induſtry of the inhabitants, and therefore that without an increaſe of induſtry it will be impoſſible to make a nation populous. Indeed, this maxim is equally true in a country where there are no manufactures, where the people live by agriculture only.

All ancient authors tell us that there was a perpetual and prodigious conflux of ſlaves, and indeed of people of all ranks, to Italy, from the remoter provinces of the Roman empire; particularly from Syria, Cilicia, Cappadocia, the leſſer Aſia, Thrace, and Egypt, and yet the number of people did not increaſe in Italy, but was continually diminiſhing; and writers account for it by their continual complaints of the decay of induſtry and agriculture. It is remarked by Don Geronimo De Uſtariz, that the provinces of Spain which ſend moſt people to the Indies are the moſt populous, on account of their induſtry and riches.

When great quantities of land are in few hands, grazing, and incloſing the grounds for that purpoſe, is peculiarly prejudicial to a country, in which there are no manufactures. For then a very few perſons are ſufficient to tend all the cattle that can live upon it, and conſequently, if the produce of the land in cattle be not expended in purchaſing manufactures raiſed at home, the country would be in a manner depopulated. To prevent the depopulation of England from this cauſe, frequent ſtatutes were obliged to be made to prevent the incloſing of lands, in the former periods of the Engliſh hiſtory.

Much has been written on the ſubject of *large and ſmall farms*, with reſpect to their being more or leſs favourable to population. In this country great numbers have been advocates for dividing farms, whereas the œconomiſts in France contend for uniting them. The queſtion ſhould be decided by conſidering which

method

method is beſt adapted to raiſe the greateſt quantity of food for men. Becauſe, if that food be not exported, it muſt be conſumed in the country, which implies, if it does not directly produce, a great number of perſons to conſume it, whether they be employed in agriculture, or not.

If the farms be ſo ſmall, as that the occupiers can only get a ſcanty ſubſiſtence from them, both themſelves and their farms will be impoveriſhed, they will not be able to cultivate them to advantage, and of courſe they will yield leſs. Whereas the farmer who is at his eaſe, and has always ſomething to ſpare, will lay it out in the higher cultivation of his farm, and thereby enable it to yield more every year. If, however, the conſequence of enlarging farms be not for raiſing food for men, but for cattle, more than are neceſſary to cultivate the ground to the moſt advantage; or if, not wanting ſubſiſtence himſelf, the proprietor leaves it waſte, or uſes it only for his amuſement, in the form of a park or a foreſt, it had better be divided, becauſe then a greater number of men will be ſubſiſted by it.

When corn, or proviſions of any kind, which are raiſed within a country are exported, it is evident that there are not mouths at home to conſume it, that the goods which are purchaſed by that corn are made elſewhere, and that if the materials and conveniencies for thoſe manufactures could be found at home, the manufacturer might live there. In this caſe ſufficient ſkill and induſtry would encreaſe the population of the country.

Many perſons are alarmed for the population of a country in conſequence of incloſing its *common lands*, as well as of the enlarging of farms in it. But if by this, or any other means, the ground is made more productive, and the produce be not exported, it muſt be conſumed at home. Common rights to large parcels of land are very injurious to culture, and conſe-

quently to population. The proprietors not being able to agree in any method of improving their common eſtate, prefer a ſmall preſent advantage to the trouble and riſk of aiming at more, The population of England ſuffers extremely from this ſource, great tracts of the beſt land lying uncultivated in rude paſtures, which it is no perſon's intereſt even to clear from brambles and furze. An eaſy method of dividing this kind of property, and thereby encouraging the cultivation of waſte land, would greatly encreaſe the population of the country.

LECTURE LIX.

Frugality favourable to Population. Polygamy. Temporary Depopulations. Influence of Religion. Populouſneſs of ancient Nations. Conſequences of extreme Population. Rules for eſtimating the Populouſneſs of Places.

ALONG with induſtry, we may juſtly reckon *frugality* to be another means of making a nation populous. When people have acquired a taſte for expenſive living, they will not chuſe to take upon them the charge of a family, till they have acquired a fortune ſufficient to maintain it in what they think a genteel manner. While this is the caſe only with a few, the evil is inconſiderable, but the ſame taſte for expenſive living will naturally ſpread to the lower ranks of the community, and produce

produce a general diſinclination to matrimony. This was the reaſon why there were ſo few marriages at Rome in the reign of Auguſtus, when there were comparatively but few perſons of fortune married, notwithſtanding married perſons had great privileges, and thoſe that were unmarried were ſubject to many civil diſadvantages; and notwithſtanding the emperor took every method he could think of to promote matrimony. This cauſe of depopulation begins very ſenſibly to affect this country, though the lower ranks of people, who by their ſituation in life have not been led to conceive a taſte for expenſive living, ſtill multiply very faſt. It is obſervable that opulent families, and eſpecially thoſe of the nobility, often become extinct.

A country will maintain more or fewer inhabitants according to their mode of living; one man being able to conſume the produce of vaſtly more land and labour by living on food difficult to be raiſed, or by eating and drinking more than is neceſſary. Sir James Stuart ſays, he believes that no annual produce of grain ever was ſo great in England, as to ſupply its inhabitants fifteen months, in that abundance with which they feed themſelves in years of plenty; and that there never was a year of ſuch ſcarcity, as that the lands of England did not produce greatly more than ſix months ſubſiſtence, ſuch as people are uſed to take in years of ſcarcity*.

The inequality of the ranks and fortunes of men tend to check population, and in ſome countries may for ever prevent its being conſiderable, provided the upper ranks have it in their power to prevent the combination of the lower, which might terminate in reducing the inequality. In this caſe, the demand for animal food, and other things which require a great quantity

* Political Œconomy, vol. i. p. 110, 111.

of

of land to raiſe it, may be ſo great, as to be made to encroach very much upon that which is appropriated to the maintenance of the poor. In ſuch a country, therefore, there may be the extreme of luxury and the extreme of indigence at the ſame time. Some may not know how to ſpend their money, while others may not know how to get any.

It was the inequality of ranks, and luxury the conſequence of it, that in a great meaſure occaſioned the depopulation of Italy in the time of the Roman empire. It was the number of country ſeats with which theſe maſters of the world covered their fertile lands, and their changing them into unproductive deſerts. In the ſame manner William II. converted a large and a populous part of this country into a foreſt.

There have been many reaſons given for the extreme populouſneſs of China, but it ſeems chiefly to ariſe from this one circumſtance, that the expences attending a married ſtate are very inconſiderable. A wife can put her huſband but to a very moderate expence. He is to allow her a certain quantity of rice for food, and ſome raw cotton, or other materials, which ſhe muſt work up for her cloathing; while a mat to ſit on is almoſt all the furniture of the houſe. Thus no perſon is diſcouraged from marrying, and the conſequence is a moſt amazing population.

Where matrimony, in oppoſition to the promiſcuous uſe of women, is not encouraged, it is evident, from the moſt undoubted facts, that neither a numerous, a healthy, or in any reſpects a valuable offspring can be expected. Polygamy is likewiſe unfavourable to populouſneſs. If one man have ſeveral wives, ſeveral men muſt be without wives, and if that man be impotent, the offspring of ſeveral men is loſt to the nation.

Suppoſe a country, by its ſituation, and the induſtry of its inhabitants, to be capable of maintaining a certain number of people; if, by any accident, that number be diminiſhed; as this diminution leaves a greater encouragement to population, their numbers will ſoon be ſupplied. Thus plagues and devaſtations of all kinds are never known to have more than a temporary effect, unleſs they leave a country altered with reſpect to a ſpirit of induſtry, or ſome other circumſtance neceſſary to the ſupport of their numbers. For this reaſon, the number of men taken off by war does not make a nation leſs populous than they would have been without war, if war did not in other reſpects affect the populouſneſs of nations. The nations of Africa, from which ſuch a number of ſlaves are ſent annually to America, are not leſs populous for that vent; and were that drain to be cut off, in a few years, the internal ſtate of the country remaining the ſame in other reſpects, it would likewiſe be the ſame with reſpect to the number of inhabitants. They would no more find themſelves incommoded by being overſtocked than they had done before. In ſhort, mankind, like any other commodity, will increaſe, or decreaſe, in proportion to the demand there is for them.

Monaſteries and nunneries might be conſidered exactly in the ſame light, were it not that they conſume thoſe products of the ground which might have maintained the ſame, or a greater number of uſeful members of ſociety. But as the caſe is, perhaps thoſe countries in which they abound would not be any gainers by ſuppreſſing them, unleſs that event ſhould contribute to the increaſe of the national induſtry; for a nobleman upon the ſame eſtate would have kept as many menial ſervants, who are likewiſe a burden upon ſociety, and whoſe labour contributes little to the good of it.

The religious ſentiments of a people are far from being a circumſtance of indifference with reſpect to the populouſneſs of a country. No wonder the Jews always multiplied, and ſtill do multiply very faſt; when, beſides the reproach and, as they believe, the curſe, of being childleſs among them, they think that, for any thing they can tell, the Meſſiah may be born of them.

The religion of the Ghebres, Chineſe, and Mahometans favour marriage. The ſacred books of the ancient Perſians declare that children make a bridge at the day of judgment, and that thoſe who have none cannot paſs to the ſtate of the bleſſed. Even the opinion of the lawfulneſs of expoſing children ſeems to favour the populouſneſs of China. For many perſons may be induced to enter into marriage with a proſpect of expoſing their children, which yet natural affection (the ſtrength of which they were not aware of) will not allow them to do, while there is any poſſibility of maintaining them, for which they will exert their induſtry to the utmoſt.

It is peculiarly unfortunate when religious and philoſophical ſentiments diſcourage matrimony. Philoſophy firſt annexed the idea of *perfection* to a ſingle life, miſtaken notions of chriſtianity confirmed that opinion, and the great Juſtiman was ſo far miſled by it, that, inſtead of giving rewards to thoſe who had a great number of children (which had ever been the wiſe policy of his predeceſſors in the empire) he granted privileges to thoſe who never married. The ſame notion prevailing in catholic countries is, no doubt, one reaſon why they are not ſo populous as proteſtant ones. For, beſides the monks and nuns, the whole body of the clergy live unmarried.

Mr. Hume has written a very elaborate and ingenious diſſertation upon the populouſneſs of ancient nations, endeavouring to prove that there are few parts of the world which are not

more populous now than they were formerly. It ſhould ſeem, by applying the maxims above laid down, that Paleſtine, Aſia Minor, and Greece, were much more populous than they are now; but hardly any other country: and it is certain that all the weſtern parts of Europe had few inhabitants in ancient times in compariſon of what they have at preſent. Upon the whole, it cannot be doubted but that the world is growing ſtill more populous than ever; eſpecially conſidering the increaſe of induſtry and arts, the improvements in agriculture, and the increaſe of the European colonies in America.

The extreme of population is far from being deſirable. Subſiſtence being ſcarce, the competition for it in the lower ranks of the people will be exceſſive. They will work for a trifle, and live upon any thing that will afford nouriſhment, and though they propagate, their offspring muſt ſtarve and periſh. The accounts of all travellers agree, ſays Dr. Smith *, in the low wages of labour, and in the difficulty which a labourer finds in bringing up a family, in China. If by digging the ground a whole day he can get what will purchaſe a ſmall quantity of rice in the evening, he is contented. The condition of artificers is, if poſſible, ſtill worſe. Inſtead of waiting indolently in their work-houſes for the calls of their cuſtomers, as in Europe, they are continually running about the ſtreets with the tools of their reſpective trades, offering their ſervice, and as it were begging employment. The poverty of the lower ranks of the people in China far ſurpaſſes that of the moſt beggarly nations in Europe. In the neighbourhood of Canton many hundreds, it is commonly ſaid, many thouſand families, have no habitation on the land, but live conſtantly in little fiſhing boats upon the

* Wealth of Nations, vol. i. p. 108.

rivers

rivers and canals. The ſubſiſtence which they find there is ſo ſcanty, that they are eager to fiſh up the naſtieſt garbage thrown overboard from any European ſhip. Any carrion, the carcaſe of a dead dog, or cat, for example, though half putrid, and ſtinking, is as welcome to them as the moſt wholeſome food to the people of other countries. Marriage is encouraged in China, not by the profitableneſs of children, but by the liberty of deſtroying them. In all great towns, ſeveral are every night expoſed in the ſtreets, or drowned like puppies in the water. The performance of this horrid office is even ſaid to be the avowed buſineſs by which ſome people earn their ſubſiſtence.

Our manufacturing poor do not in many places rear many children, and Dr. Smith ſays *, that he has been told it is not uncommon in the highlands of Scotland for a mother who has born twenty children not to have two alive. The induſtrious poor exhauſt themſelves by extreme labour, and like overwrought cattle bring on untimely old age. A carpenter in London, and in ſome other places, ſays Dr. Smith †, is not ſuppoſed to laſt in his utmoſt vigour above eight years.

The population of China is ſo great, that the ſuperſtitious reſpect for anceſtors has been obliged to give way to it. The ordinary ſepulchres are levelled, and the ground cultivated. The rich bury in mountains and barren lands. This exceſſive population, the inconveniences of which modern philoſophers in Europe have no idea of, increaſes the demand for agriculture ſo much, as to make a famine the ſudden and inevitable conſequence of the ſmalleſt neglects, and to compel the Chineſe to live without oxen, ſheep, or horſes. Without mountains and marſhes, China would be without wood, or game. For want

* Wealth of Nations, vol. i. p. 120.

† Ibid. vol. i. p. 124.

of

of manure, the fields require much more labour*. The greateſt attention is requiſite on the part of government to provide for the equal diſtribution of corn, and to make one province and one year relieve another.

It may not be improper, in order to aſſiſt you in your computations on this ſubject, juſt to mention two facts which, I believe, may be pretty nearly depended upon. The firſt is, that there are more men than women born in almoſt every country, in the proportion of fourteen to thirteen, or of fifteen to fourteen; allowance, as it were, being made by divine providence for a greater conſumption of men by war and other accidents to which women are not expoſed; alſo that the number of men capable of bearing arms are about one fourth of all the inhabitants. The ſecond is, that we ſhall come very near the number of the inhabitants of any town, if we multiply the annual number of their dead taken at a medium by thirty; or as ſome ſay, the number of births by thirty-four (but I think it ought to be larger in proportion) and the number of houſes by five.

The number of deaths in proportion to the number of inhabitants differs exceedingly in different places. Dr. Price, after giving more attention to this ſubject than perhaps any other perſon ever did, thinks that, in great towns, it is from one-nineteenth or one-twentieth to one twenty-third or a twenty-fourth, in moderate towns from one twenty-third to one twenty-eighth, but in the country from one thirty-fifth, or one fortieth to a fiftieth or a ſixtieth†.

* Memoirs ſur les Chinois, vol iv. p. 321.

† Obſervations on reverſionary payments, vol. i. p. 302.

LEC-

LECTURE LX.

What makes a Nation Secure. Natural Ramparts. Advantage of an Iſland. Importance of Weapons. The Alteration which the Invention of Gunpowder has made in the Art of War. Reaſon why the firſt Effects of it were not more ſenſible in Europe. Difference in the Methods of Fortification, and fighting at Sea, of the Ancients and Moderns. The Importance of Diſcipline. Inconvenience of the Feudal Syſtem. What Mode of Subſiſtence makes a Nation formidable. Standing Armies, and Militia. The Riſe of ſtanding Armies in Europe. Why a Nation is formidable after a Civil War. The great military Power of ancient Nations accounted for. In what Senſe Populouſneſs contributes to make a Nation ſtrong and ſecure.

AFTER conſidering thoſe things and circumſtances which tend to make a nation *rich*, *happy*, and *populous*, we are naturally led to attend to thoſe things which make it *ſecure*. Indeed, without the perſuaſion of our *ſecurity*, it is impoſſible to derive any advantage from the moſt favourable concurrence of thoſe circumſtances which tend to render a nation rich, populous, and happy.

A reaſonable ſecurity can only ariſe from a conſciouſneſs of being able effectually to defend ourſelves in caſe of any attack from a foreign ſtate, or to make any nation repent of the inſults they ſhall offer us. This power in a people of defending themſelves, or of annoying others, muſt depend principally upon three

three things; a natural ſituation, which may be of great conſequence either for defending ourſelves, or of attacking others; ſkill in the art of war; and courage to exert that ſkill to advantage.

A natural rampart is either the ſea, or a chain of mountains, the paſſes of which require but few troops to defend them againſt a multitude. Barrier towns and fortifications are artificial ramparts, and require a knowledge of the art of war to be ſerviceable. Iſlands afford the moſt effectual ſecurity that nature can provide for a people, if they be ſkilled in navigation and ſea engagements, which, from their conſtant and neceſſary uſe of the ſea, they have the greateſt chance and opportunity of excelling in, provided they keep up any intercourſe with neighbouring nations, and particularly if they carry on any foreign commerce. Had Tyre been ſituated on an inland farther from the ſhore, it is probable it would never have been finally conquered by Alexander the Great; and had there been any paſſage from France to England by land, we might have been much more diſtreſſed in ſome of our wars with the French, in which they appeared to be ſuperior to us by land.

The Swiſs have been more than once indebted to their mountains for the ſecurity and liberty which they enjoy. Holland was delivered from the invaſion of Lewis XIV. by nothing but the opportunity which their ſituation gave them of deluging their country; and the natural diviſion of Europe into tracts of a moderate extent, both mark out, as it were, the limits of empires, and is a means of keeping them within reaſonable bounds; thereby giving us a kind of ſecurity againſt the eſtabliſhment of any large empire in this part of the world; whereas in Aſia, which abounds in extenſive plains, nothing but a ſuperior military force can prevent an army which has

has ſubdued a part from taking poſſeſſion of the whole. Aſia is therefore thought to be favourable for extenſive monarchy. Even Tartary affords no place of retreat to a vanquiſhed army.

If the ſituation of a people will not afford them a ſufficient ſecurity (and it can hardly ever be quite ſufficient of itſelf) they muſt have recourſe to thoſe methods of defence and attack which are either equal or ſuperior to thoſe of the enemy.

The ſingle article of *weapons* is of prodigious conſequence in war, and has decided the fate of many important battles. The Romans acknowledged themſelves to be inferior to the Cimbri in courage and martial heroiſm, and that even their ſuperior diſcipline would have been no ſecurity againſt the dreadful impetuoſity of their attacks, but that the ſwords of the Cimbri were of bad temper. They often bent at the firſt ſtroke, and the perſon who uſed one of them was obliged to wait till he could ſtraighten it with his foot before he could make a ſecond ſtroke. The expertneſs of the Engliſh in the uſe of their long and croſs bows gave them a great advantage both over the Scotch and the French before the invention of artillery. The cavalry of the Romans and Huns were ſkilled in the uſe of the bow, while thoſe of the Goths and Vandals uſed the ſword and lance. To this difference Beliſarius attributed part of his ſucceſs.

It was a great advantage to the Romans that they were never bigottedly attached to their own weapons, and manner of fighting, but eaſily changed them when they ſaw any advantage in thoſe of other nations. Thus Romulus exchanged the Argive buckler for the large ſhield of the Sabines; and the Romans changed their method of arming their horſe when they conquered Greece. The ſame juſt ſentiments taught them the proper uſe of their auxiliaries, whom they employed according

to their character. It was the Numidian cavalry that gained the battle of Zama. Hannibal too had the good ſenſe to arm his troops after the Roman manner, when he found it was preferable to the armour of his own country. And it was no inconſiderable cauſe of the decline of the Roman power, that they quitted their ancient armour. Under Gratian the Romans laid aſide the uſe of their heavy armour, their coats of mail and helmet. They likewiſe ceaſed to fortify their camp.

The ſingle diſcovery of the compoſition and force of *gunpowder* has made a total alteration in the whole ſyſtem of war, and has contributed to make battles both leſs bloody, and more quickly decided than before. Formerly armies were drawn up generally ſixteen or twenty, ſome times fifty men deep, with a narrow front, becauſe their ranks would have been too apt to have been thrown into diſorder by fighting hand to hand. But the conſequence of this was, that the troops which gave way were entangled with one another, and had little power of making their eſcape. Beſides, their conquerors were neceſſarily cloſe behind them, and maſſacred them at pleaſure, as they were incapable of making any reſiſtance the moment after they had turned their backs. Whereas thin and extended ranks are able to keep their order in the preſent method of fighting; and, as the oppoſite armies are at ſome diſtance, the party which begins to be worſted is able to make its retreat in good order, with leſs help from a body of reſerve, to keep the enemy in play, or over-awed, which was the only method by which the ancients could ſecure an orderly retreat. In ſhort, as Hume well obſerves, nations, by the uſe of artillery, have been brought more upon a level, conqueſts have become leſs frequent and rapid, ſucceſs in war has been reduced merely to a matter of calculation,

calculation; and a nation over-matched by its enemies either yields to their demands, or ſecures itſelf by alliances againſt their violence and invaſion.

When we read of the aſtoniſhing ſucceſs of a few Spaniards in America, where five hundred men under Cortez ſubdued the vaſt empire of Mexico, by the help of gunpowder only; we are apt to wonder that the æra of its invention, and its uſe in war, ſhould not have been noted by contemporary hiſtorians, and that the Germans who invented it ſhould not have derived ſome ſignal advantage from it. But the reaſon was, that the diſcovery doth not appear to have been any ſecret. The compoſition itſelf, and its more innocent effects, were probably well known, and its poſſible uſes in war generally talked of, before it was actually applied to that deſtructive purpoſe; which would tend greatly to take off the ſurprize which would otherwiſe have been felt upon the firſt introduction of it. Beſides, the firſt artillery was ſo clumſy, and of ſuch difficult management, that mankind were not immediately ſenſible of its uſe and efficacy; and conſidering how many arrows might be drawn before one piece could have been loaded and diſcharged, eſpecially before the invention of gun-locks; it is rather to be wondered that guns and cannons ſhould ever have come into uſe at all. The Chineſe were acquainted with the compoſition of gunpowder, but never thought of making any uſe of it in war. Matchlocks were uſed ſo late as in the civil wars in England, above three centuries after the invention of gunpowder. Before the time of Lewis XIV. little uſe was made of cannon in beſieging or defending places, fortification was in its infancy, and ſpears and ſhort guns were then in uſe as well as ſwords, which are now entirely laid aſide; and ſome time before that period, viz. at the battle of Lepanto, in the year 1571, they fought promiſcuouſly

with arrows, long javelins, grenadoes, grappling-irons, cannons, muſquets, ſpears, and ſabres.

The alteration of the methods of *fortification*, and the manner of attacking and defending fortified places, in conſequence of the diſcovery of gunpowder, is even more conſiderable than the alteration it has introduced into the methods of fighting in the open field. Sea-engagements are likewiſe now quite a different thing from what they were before this great diſcovery. Inſtead of the ſhips of war themſelves being the principal weapons of offence, and being puſhed againſt one another by their beaks; and inſtead of the men fighting heavy armed as on land, whenever they had an opportunity of grappling; the ſhip is now nothing but a fortified place of ſecurity, which the men aſſail with their artillery, as if it were a caſtle at land.

Superiority of *diſcipline* is an excellent ſecond to ſuperiority in point of weapons. Exact diſcipline makes a multitude act as one man, and gives each man the courage of a multitude. For every ſingle ſoldier, who helps to compoſe a body whoſe motions are ſo uniform and regular, has the ſame entire confidence in the ſtrength of the whole, as if he himſelf had the ſole direction of that ſtrength. Diſcipline chiefly rendered the Greeks ſo much better ſoldiers than the Perſians, and the Romans than the Greeks, the Carthaginians, and the fierce barbarous nations of the north. Some of the ſoldiers of Niger, driven by the proſcriptions of Severus among the Parthians, taught them the Roman diſcipline, which, it is ſaid, ever after gave them an advantage over the Romans. "The Parthians "have not more courage than we have," ſaid Beliſarius, in a ſpeech to his men.. "They are only better diſciplined than "we are."

It

It is diſcipline only which gives the Europeans the ſuperiority they as yet retain over the Aſiatics, and the American nations, now that we have communicated to them the uſe of our artillery; a conduct, the reverſe of the wiſe policy of Charlemagne, who forbade, under the ſevereſt penalties, that any perſon ſhould ſell arms to the Saxons, with whom he was frequently at war.

So much ſuperior is the military ſkill of civilized and wealthy nations at this day, that they have nothing to apprehend, as they formerly had, from the ferocity of their barbarous neighbours. On the contrary, if they were ſo diſpoſed, they might ſubdue them and extirpate them, with as much eaſe as they could clear any country of lions, and other wild beaſts.

We ought not to forget the maxim, verified by all hiſtory, that a nation which has often been conquered, and conſequently which has often ſeen what it was that gave their enemies the advantage they had over them, have at length acquired knowledge, diſcipline, and courage, ſufficient to beat their conquerors. Thus Peter the Great was at length able to beat the Swedes, though he had no other maſters in the art of war beſides the Swedes themſelves; and the leſſons he received from them were ſo many dreadful defeats, in the beginning of the war he had with them.

The diſcipline of the European armies is prodigiouſly improved ſince the diſuſe of the feudal militia, when all armies were raiſed by the prince's ſummoning his vaſſals to appear in the field, at the head of their dependants, who were maintained a certain number of days at his expence; and when this vaſſal was their commander of courſe, whether he was properly qualified for the command, or not.

In thoſe times, too, the kings, who were originally nothing more than generals, always headed their armies in perſon. Charles, the ſon of king John of France, ſeems to have fixed it as a maxim, never to appear at the head of his army; and he was the firſt king in Europe who ſhewed the advantage of policy, foreſight, and judgment, above a raſh and precipitate valour. The inconvenience of kings commanding in perſon had often been ſeverely felt by the nation before the cuſtom was diſuſed. To pay for the king's ranſom was one of the three occaſions on which only it was lawful to impoſe a tax in the feudal times.

Nations are powerful and formidable in proportion as their mode of ſubſiſtence enables them to maintain diſcipline in the army, and keep them in the field. People who live by hunting, as the North American Indians, can never ſubſiſt in great numbers. They therefore fight in ſmall parties, and endeavour to attack their enemies by ſurprize. Nations that live by paſturage, as the Tartars, can drive their cattle along with them if they march into a fertile country, and every man can appear in the field, and ſome times even the women can join them. Theſe, therefore, are the moſt formidable invaders. But in caſe of a defeat, they have no reſource, their all is at ſtake, and being incumbered with much baggage they muſt be open to attacks.

Nations which live in towns, by manufactures and commerce, are in general unqualified to fight themſelves; but being rich, they can afford to pay thoſe who are able, either of their own country, or of other nations; and thoſe who have no other buſineſs beſides that of fighting, will improve in the art of it. Their armies will ſeldom be very large, but they will be leſs incumbered, and upon the whole far more effectual for defence or offence. But experience will teach them that, though

though able to make conqueſts, theſe will never repay them the expences they are at in acquiring and maintaining them. For of all luxuries (as every thing which is not *neceſſary* for life may be called) war is the deareſt.

If a wealthy nation does not keep a ſtanding army, ſuch as is deſcribed above, but oblige every citizen to learn the uſe of arms, and appear in the field whenever he is called upon, it is ſaid to have a *militia*. On ſuch a plan the liberties of a country are certainly ſafer, but the fighting men, not making war their whole buſineſs, will not be very expert in it, and conſequently will not have that confidence in themſelves that a ſtanding army has. Though, fighting for their liberties, they will be ſtimulated to act with more vigour.

The firſt ſtanding army we read of was that of Philip of Macedon, and by this means chiefly he was ſuperior to the ſtates of Greece, whoſe armies conſiſted of militia, and ſtill more to the Perſians. In the beginning of the ſecond Punic war, Hannibal had a proper ſtanding army, and the Romans only a militia; but it was otherwiſe before the end of that war.

The greateſt care ſhould be taken that the officers in ſtanding armies be of the body of the people, ſo as to have the ſame intereſt with them, and that their civil privileges ſhould be more valuable to them than any thing that they could get as ſoldiers.

A militia has the advantage of training more men to the uſe of arms, and of preſerving the people independent; but if theſe ends could be ſecured by any other means, the country would be defended at leſs expence by a ſtanding army. For the ſame reaſons that we have our ſhoes and cloaths made at leſs expence by employing ſhoe-makers, and taylors, whoſe ſole buſineſs it is to make ſhoes and cloaths, than for every man

to be taught to make them himſelf. If it was a man's whole buſineſs to learn the uſe of arms, he would certainly be more perfect in the uſe of them; and though this ſoldier would be idle and uſeleſs to any other purpoſe, the occaſional practice of arms by the whole community would produce a greater ſum of idleneſs, and on the whole would not take ſo much from the maſs of uſeful labour.

Since the increaſe of induſtry, and the impoſition of taxes, in lieu of the ancient feudal ſervices, ſtanding armies, conſtantly exerciſed, and commanded by officers of the king's nomination, have been kept up by all the princes in Europe; and as there is a proviſion in the ſtate for the conſtant pay of theſe troops, the difference between the expences of a time of war and a time of peace is not ſo great as formerly: though our armies are infinitely more expenſive. It is the price of artillery, fortification, &c. which exhauſts the revenues of the preſent belligerent powers. The neceſſary expences of war, as it is conducted at preſent, has given riſe to a maxim unknown to antiquity, that *riches are the ſinews of war.*

Lewis XIV. was the firſt who kept on foot numerous armies. His example excited other princes to do the ſame; ſo that after the peace of Aix-la-Chapelle the chriſtian powers of Europe had about a million of men under arms. The inconvenience of ſtanding armies commanded by officers of the king's nomination, is that too much power is thrown into the hands of the ſovereign.

It is owing to the great improvements in exerciſe and diſcipline that a nation makes ſo great a figure in arms, and appears ſo formidable to its neighbours immediately after the concluſion of a civil war. Though it leaves the nation exhauſted in other reſpects, it leaves a great number of men trained to the uſe of

arms, and averſe to any other method of getting ſubſiſtence. The Romans were extending their conqueſts on all ſides even in the fierceſt of their civil wars. Thoſe in the minority of Lewis XIV. formed a number of generals, who raiſed the glory of that reign to the higheſt pitch, and England had never appeared ſo formidable to the reſt of Europe as it did *under* the commonwealth, immediately after the concluſion of the laſt civil war. There are undoubtedly more men in a nation before the commencement of a civil war, but the ſtrength of a nation is not in proportion to the number of its inhabitants, but to the number of the fighting men it contains, which are much increaſed by a war, which depopulates the country in general.

This accounts for the great military power of ancient nations. An European prince who has a million of ſubjects, cannot maintain more than ten thouſand troops; whereas the fighting men in ancient republics were nearly as one to eight of all the inhabitants. Hence, in all ancient hiſtory, we read of the ſmalleſt republics raiſing, and maintaining, greater armies than ſtates conſiſting of many times the number of inhabitants are able to ſupport at preſent. It is generally ſaid that, in the preſent ſtate of things, even wealthy ſocieties cannot keep more than an hundredth part of their fighting men in the field, and maintain them in the character of ſoldiers.

In ancient times few artiſans were maintained by the labour of the farmer, and therefore more ſoldiers might be ſupported by the produce of the lands. Livy ſays, it would be difficult, in his days, to raiſe ſo large an army as the Roman ſtate formerly ſent out againſt the Gauls and Latins. The numbers and private riches of the Athenians are ſaid, by all ancient writers, to have been no greater at the beginning of the Peloponeſian than they were at the beginning of the Macedonian war; but in the latter

period they were grown more luxurious, and more people were employed about the arts. The Dutch are, no doubt, richer now than they were in the time of our wars with them, but they have not the tenth part of the power they had then. With them, indeed, this is not perhaps ſo much owing to the increaſe of luxury, as to a want of that public ſpirit, which converts private riches into public riches, and national power.

This, too, accounts for the large armies of the ancient Gauls and Germans. With them, and all people of the north-weſtern parts of Europe, no profeſſion was honourable but that of arms. Agriculture, and the arts, were ever accounted ignoble and baſe, unworthy of a man free-born. Of courſe, every man ſtudied the uſe of arms, and the conſequence was a ſtate of perpetual war, and a body of people full of courage and experience in it.

A nation may be very populous, and either be very weak, or very ſtrong, in conſequence of that populouſneſs. If the greateſt part of the number of people be employed in raiſing the neceſſaries of life, no men can be ſpared; and they cannot bear the expence of a long war. But if the full produce of the lands be reaped with eaſe, and the bulk of the people be artiſans, theſe being employed about ſuperfluities, may be ſpared upon any emergence; and while hands enow are left to follow huſbandry; the country, yielding as much as before, will ſoon recruit itſelf for the loſſes it ſuſtained in war. But when the ambition of a prince takes men from their farms, and the lands are left uncultivated, the very ſinews of riches and ſtrength are cut. After this neglect of huſbandry, the land will not maintain the ſame number of inhabitants, and the country will require a long courſe of time before it grow as populous and powerful as it was before.

LEC-

LECTURE LXI.

Of Confederacies. The Balance of Power in ancient and modern Times. The Conduct of different Nations in extending and ſecuring their conqueſts. The Roman Policy in War particularly noticed. The Neceſſity of perſonal Courage. Influence of Liberty. The Reaſon of ſome Inſtances of deſperate Valour in ancient Times. The Difference between the Proportion of Officers and their Pay in ancient and modern Times explained. The Danger of employing Mercenaries. Of buying off Wars.

IT is at this day not only a confidence in the number of their own warlike inhabitants that gives a people the idea of ſecurity. A ſenſe of common advantage has connected all the ſtates of Europe in *alliances* with one another; ſo that the weakeſt cannot be attacked but ſome of the ſtronger powers ſee it their intereſt to enter either as allies, or as principals, into the war; and for a century or two, there has hardly been a particular war in Europe (wherever, or upon whatever occaſion, it might happen to ariſe) which has not very ſoon become general: whereas, in ancient times, a nation might almoſt be ſubdued before its next neighbours knew any thing of the matter. The Greeks and Perſians ſeem to have underſtood what we call the balance of power, but the Romans never met with any general combinations againſt them. The confederacies in Gaul and Britain were very partial.

It has been the rivalſhip and oppoſition between the two houſes of Bourbon and Auſtria which has made this ſubject ſo

much attended to in Europe; it being apparently the intereſt of all neighbouring ſtates to oppoſe the ſtronger, and more enterprizing of the two, by joining themſelves as allies to the weaker. The quickneſs with which an alarm is taken at the ambitious enterprizes of any European monarch would have been incredible in ancient times. Lewis XIV. ſays Voltaire, entered Holland only in May, and by the month of July all Europe was in a confederacy againſt him.

It may not be amiſs in this place juſt to mention the conduct and policy of different nations in extending and ſecuring their *conqueſts*. It was the cuſtom of the kings of Aſſyria, of Babylon, and all the ancient empires in the Eaſt (for preventing the rebellion of people newly conquered) to captivate and tranſplant the people of different countries into one another's lands, and to intermix them variouſly. The Romans obſerved a policy ſomething like it; the troops which guarded one province being always raiſed in another and a diſtant one, ſo that no perſon was permitted to bear arms in his own country.

A few more particulars of the Roman policy in war deſerve our notice. In early times the command of every general expired with his conſular or pro-conſular year; ſo that they were obliged to exert themſelves greatly, in order to diſtinguiſh themſelves in the ſhort period of their command; and thereby the ſoldiers alſo, who were then perſons of property, got no attachment to the general, but to the ſtate. Afterwards when, on account of diſtant wars, it was found inconvenient to change the general, the ſoldiers (who were then more needy, and received their pay from the general) were always at his devotion, whoever he was, and were ready to ſecond his ambitious views, in all the civil wars with which they were harraſſed. Under the emperors, the generals were afraid of giving umbrage by diſtinguiſhing

diſtinguiſhing themſelves, and therefore we are not to be ſurpriſed that the Roman empire received ſo little addition after the end of the commonwealth.

Another maxim of their policy in war was to deprive all conquered nations of power, making them deliver up their arms and ſhips, and forbidding them to make war upon any of their allies. They took hoſtages of their princes' children, and ſecured their conqueſts by not ſeeming to take poſſeſſion of the conquered countries at firſt, but leaving the people their own laws, cuſtoms, and government. But thereby their kings, or chiefs, and conſequently the whole people, were in fact, more at their devotion than if they had been nominally the ſubjects of the empire. They alſo ſtrengthened their own power by eaſily granting the freedom of their city to particular perſons, towns, and ſtates, thereby incorporating the conquered nations into their own body, and making them conſider the intereſt of Rome as their own. By this policy they encreaſed in numbers and ſtrength by their conqueſts. Whereas the ſtates of Greece (in which the freedom of cities was difficult to be obtained) were neceſſarily diminiſhed in numbers and ſtrength by the wars in which they were engaged.

Though the Romans exacted very little under the form of *tribute* from the conquered nations, they are ſaid to have been the only people in the world who grew rich by their conqueſts, ſo that every war made them more able to undertake a ſecond. Pompey encreaſed the revenues of the ſtate one-third.

The beſt diſcipline, and the beſt maxims of war, will avail but little without bodily ſtrength and perſonal *courage*. I ſhall therefore make a few obſervations upon the different ſources of it. It is obvious to remark, in the firſt place, that men will always

always exert their ſtrength in proportion to the motives they have to exert it. We may, therefore, expect more courage in free-men, fighting for their liberty, than in the ſubjects of an arbitrary monarch, fighting for the honour of their maſter. It was an enthuſiaſtic love of liberty that inſpired the Greeks in their wars with the Perſians, and that enabled the Dutch to reſcue themſelves from the power of Spain, when they were the moſt inconſiderable, and the Spaniards the moſt formidable, power in Europe.

If we read of more inſtances of deſperate valour among the ancients; as of men killing themſelves, their wives, and their children, rather than fall into the hands of an enemy; as the Saguntines, the Numantines, the people of Smyrna, and many others are ſaid to have done; we muſt conſider, that more was loſt by being conquered in former times than is loſt at preſent. In thoſe times a conquered people loſt their civil liberty, goods, wives, children, and often even the rights of burial; whereas modern conqueſts generally terminate in leaving the conquered to live according to their own laws, and the private property of individuals is untouched. In ſhort, the only difference to moſt of the inhabitants of a conquered country is, that they are obliged to ſwear allegiance to another ſovereign; a great argument of the ſuperiority of modern times in reaſon, religion, philoſophy, and manners.

There was a capital difference in the regulation of armies in ancient and modern times, which could not be a matter of indifference with reſpect to the motives the ſoldiers had to exert themſelves. With us the pay of an officer is prodigiouſly greater than that of a common ſoldier; whereas, in ancient times, if the generals had any pay, it was little more than what the meaneſt

meaneſt perſon in the army received. When Xenophon returned from his famous expedition, he hired himſelf and ſix thouſand of his Greeks into the ſervice of Seuthes, a prince of Thrace, upon theſe terms, that each ſoldier ſhould receive a daric a month, each captain two darics, and he himſelf, as general, four.

The commander in chief of a Roman army, at leaſt during the commonwealth, had no regular pay. All the advantage he received was the honour, the power, and the influence, which his command gave him at home. What we may call the perquiſites of his office, when any ſpoils were taken, could not regularly be conſiderable, for the Queſtor took an account of the whole, in order to its being lodged in the public treaſury. There were fewer officers in the Roman armies than in ours, and theſe officers had very ſmall pay. A centurion had only double the pay of a common ſoldier; and it muſt be remembered that the Roman ſoldiers bought their own cloaths, arms, tents, and baggage. Cæſar, however, gave the centurions ten times the gratuity that he gave the common ſoldiers.

The reaſon of this conduct in the Romans ſeems to have been, that in the early times, the body of the people, fighting their own battles, either in their own defence, or with a view to enrich themſelves with the plunder of other people, had no pretence to claim any pay. Beſides, as they ſerved in their turns, it would have made no ſort of difference, whether they provided themſelves with neceſſaries for war, or were ſupplied out of a common ſtock, formed by their joint contributions. Afterwards, when it became inconvenient for the greater part of the people to ſerve in the army, on account of their being engaged in the arts and in agriculture; and conſequently thoſe were enliſted chiefly who had little or no employment, and were therefore very poor, it appeared unreaſonable that they ſhould fight

fight for the common advantage, at their own expence, which they were ſo little able to afford. Upon this they were allowed ſome pay, but at firſt it was extremely ſmall; as may be imagined, after being uſed to ſerve for nothing at all. Still the officers ſerved without pay, and never received any thing conſiderable till it became the intereſt of their commanders to court their favour by encreaſing their allowance. Till Julius Cæſar doubled the legionary pay, a common foot ſoldier received only two oboli a day, the inferior officers and centurions four oboli, and a horſeman a drachm.

The hiſtory of the pay of European ſoldiers, and particularly of the Engliſh is very different from that of theſe ancients. In the early feudal times, as all lands were held by military tenure, every vaſſal ſent horſe and foot in proportion to the lands he held, and none bore arms but freemen, who muſt have been handſomely provided for if they were retained in the ſervice beyond the ſtipulated time. Alſo they did not fight their own battles, as the Roman ſoldiers did in the early times of the commonwealth. Whatever advantage was gained by the war, it was entirely at the diſpoſal of the chief in the expedition. Indeed, before the eſtabliſhment of the ſtrict feudal ſyſtem, the ſoldiers had no pay; but then they fought for lands to be divided equally among them all, and there was no ſuperiority of one man to another but what was temporary, and ceaſed with the war. But when this army of freemen became fixed in a conquered country, the inhabitants of which were vaſtly more numerous than themſelves, and they were obliged to keep up the form and order of a perpetual army, the ſuperiority of the commanders, both ſupreme and ſubordinate, became fixed, and the ordinary freemen were as much under the command of their ſuperiors as they had been when they were their officers, in the time of actual ſervice.

Beſides, when the great vaſſals grew almoſt independent, their ſervices muſt have been bought at a conſiderable price; and they often ſtipulated not only for a handſome reward for themſelves, but alſo for each of their followers. In the time of Edward III. a knight, who ſerved on horſeback, had two ſhillings a day, which was equivalent to one pound at preſent; and an archer ſix-pence, which was equal in value to a crown with us.

The reduction of the value of money, and the reduction of the rank of the common ſoldiers, was a very ſuitable coincidence, as under the ſame name they always received pay in proportion to their rank, and the value of their ſervices. At the preſent time, ſoldiers are the very loweſt, and worſt provided for, of all the people; generally thoſe who are too idle to provide a better ſubſiſtence for themſelves by their labour, and their pay is according to it.

More officers are neceſſary in modern armies, becauſe the method of fighting, ſince the invention of gunpowder, is more complex and more ſcientifical. And the commanders muſt have better pay, to make it worth the while of perſons of proper rank and fortune (who have the greateſt intereſt in the welfare of their country) to take it upon them. It is true, that the low rank, and the low pay, of our common ſoldiers allow them to be little more than mercenaries. Common ſoldiers have certainly very little at ſtake in the country; but the very profeſſion of arms tends to inſpire a ſenſe of honour, and attachment to their country, though they have little or no intereſt in it. This is remarkably the caſe with the Engliſh ſoldiers and ſeamen.

Profeſſed mercenaries, it is certain, can have no motive to fight for one ſide, but what may be converted to engage them in the ſervice of the other; and the hiſtory of all nations

demonſtrates how impolitic it is to depend upon them. Thus the Perſians depended upon the mercenary Greeks, their natural enemies, till they had no other troops capable of doing them any ſervice; and the Carthaginians were brought to the very brink of deſtruction by the rebellion of their mercenaries, between the firſt and ſecond Punic wars. At preſent, while all the ſtates of Europe keep up a conſiderable body of native troops, the inconvenience is leſs ſenſible. Thoſe who are the moſt remarkable for ſerving as mercenaries at preſent are the Swiſs, and the petty princes of Germany.

But even depending upon mercenaries is a better expedient than buying off a war. For that is, in fact, to confide in the honour of an enemy confeſſedly ſuperior. The Romans were not long able to withſtand the ravages of the barbarous nations, after they began to bribe them to quit their territories. And the money which the Danes received from the Engliſh on the ſame account only induced them to riſe continually in their demands, and bring over new bodies of adventurers, with the ſame expectation of raiſing fortunes without fighting.

LECTURE LXII.

A Capacity of bearing the Fatigues of War: more requiſite in the ancient Manner of fighting. The Advantage of poor Nations over the rich. Why Invaders have generally more Courage than the Invaded. The Influence of Opinion upon Courage. The Influence of religious Sentiments. Effects of violent perſonal Hatred. Civil Wars peculiarly bloody. Cauſes of Factions, Duration of them, eaſily propagated in free Governments. Dreadful Effects of Faction. The unfortunate Situation of the Greek Empire. Obſervations on the different Durations of Empires. Folly of Conqueſt. What Wars are juſtifiable. Laws of War. Duelling.

SKILL in the art of war will avail little without a ſoldiery capable of bearing the neceſſary fatigues of it. The Roman diſcipline was admirable in this reſpect. The Roman ſoldiers were kept in conſtant exerciſe. The Lacedæmonian ſoldiers had leſs fatigue in the field than they had at home; whereas ours paſs from comparative indolence to extreme exerciſe. Diſtempers in armies are for this reaſon more common, and more fatal with us, than we ever hear of their being with them. Few Roman ſoldiers died of diſtempers. The military pace was twenty miles in five hours, carrying ſixty pounds. The ſoldiers were alſo exerciſed in running and leaping in their arms. Indeed, as the nature of the modern ſervice, in which artillery is principally uſed, is leſs laborious, and therefore leſs depends

upon ſtrength of body, ſuch ſevere exerciſe ſeems not to be neceſſary.

It is this circumſtance, of hardineſs, and capacity of bearing fatigue, which gives poor nations the advantage they ſome times have over the rich. Beſides, the proſpect they have of bettering their circumſtances, acts more forcibly upon them than even the fear of a reverſe of fortune does upon the rich. Theſe circumſtances, in concurrence with the more robuſt make of body in the northern nations, have generally directed the courſe of victory ſouthwards. Perſia, it is ſaid, has been conquered thirteen times from the north; and the Saracens are the only nation ſituated conſiderably to the ſouth, who have made extenſive conqueſts northwards. At the time that the Romans made their conqueſts northwards, they were as hardy as the Gauls and Germans themſelves, with the advantage of ſuperior diſcipline and better weapons.

Invaders are generally obſerved to have more courage than the people invaded: it being ſuppoſed, that no nation would take up a reſolution to invade another, and particularly the deſperate reſolution of attacking them at home, without great confidence, and therefore great probability of ſucceſs. This apprehenſion cannot but make the people invaded diffident of themſelves, which muſt give their enemies a conſiderable advantage. The Romans ſeldom gave their enemies an opportunity of attacking them, but generally carried the war into their country; and Hannibal's great maxim was, that that people were no where vulnerable but at home.

Mere current *opinion*, without any foundation in the world, is of great moment with reſpect to courage. The tenth legion of Cæſar, and the regiment of Picardy in France, imagined themſelves, and really were, the beſt troops in the ſervice.

The

The Dorians were ever reputed better ſoldiers than the Ionians, and actually were ſo in conſequence of it. Indeed, when once a character has been acquired, men will exert themſelves uncommonly to ſupport it.

The five nations of North-America think themſelves by far ſuperior to the reſt of mankind, and have taken ſuch care to impreſs the ſame opinion on all their neighbours, that they, on all occaſions, yield the moſt ſubmiſſive obedience to them. When one of a different tribe cries out *a mohawk*, they will fly like ſheep before wolves, without making any reſiſtance, whatever advantage there was on their ſide*.

Of what moment *religious ſentiments* are in war, has been ſhown under the article of religion, I ſhall only add, in this place, that the knights errant, who did ſuch excellent ſervice in the war with the Moors in Spain, had their valor, no doubt, greatly enflamed by watching their arms a whole night before the ſhrine of the Virgin Mary, in the ceremony of receiving knighthood; and that the ſoldiers will be more eaſily kept in good diſcipline when notions of religion attach them to their general and their cauſe, eſpecially if their religion oblige them to great ſtrictneſs and ſeverity of manners in private life. The ſuperſtitious regard which the Romans had for the authority of their generals was extreme. Several times they ſuffered themſelves to be decimated by them; whereas the Carthaginian ſoldiers more than once crucified their generals. It was the excellent diſcipline which the ſerioufneſs of the parliamentary army in this country enured them to, that gave them ſo great an advantage over the king's troops, whoſe diſſoluteneſs of morals as men greatly relaxed their diſcipline as ſoldiers.

* Golden's Hiſtory of five Nations, p. 3.

Violent;

Violent perſonal hatred has always produced the greateſt, and moſt dreadful effects in war. This principle accounts for the peculiar ſavageneſs with which civil wars are often conducted. Reſentment is inflamed in proportion to the nearneſs of the cauſe, and the frequency of impreſſions from it. For this reaſon but little hatred is excited againſt a public and diſtant enemy, and therefore thoſe wars are conducted with more generoſity and humanity. But civil and religious parties have this in common, that their antipathy to one another is always the greater, the more things there are in which they agree. For this makes the contraſt of the few things in which they differ, the more ſenſible and ſtriking. A remarkable inſtance of the effects of this animoſity is mentioned by Voltaire: A cavalier commanded a regiment of French refugees at the battle of Almanza, where they met with another French regiment in the oppoſite army; as ſoon as they ſaw one another they began a bloody fight with their bayonets, without firing a ſingle muſquet, and there were not above three hundred men left alive out of the two regiments. Civil wars are alſo peculiarly bloody, becauſe leſs quarter is expected in them. All priſoners are ſure to be treated as *rebels*; whereas in open wars, at leaſt in modern times, all priſoners are mutually exchanged.

Factions, which are the foundation of civil wars, take their riſe from very different ſources. Their real cauſes are *intereſt* or *affection*, though theſe are ſeldom avowed; *principle* being the pretence in almoſt all caſes. The factions in the Roman commonwealth were a ſtruggle for power between the two orders of the ſtate; and they were a great means of contributing to its aggrandizement. For the ſenate had no method of ſilencing the clamours of the common people but by leading them out to war, which was a bait that was almoſt always ſure to take with them.

Affection

Affection divided England between the houſes of York and Lancaſter, as alſo Scotland between Bruce and Baliol. But this affection, as Hume well obſerves, is only in the lower people, who ſee not the princes. The great partiſans are led by intereſt chiefly. They ſee the weakneſs of princes and deſpiſe them. Theſe motives, however, for entering into factions, different as they may be in their own nature, eaſily introduce one another. The attachment of a court party to the monarch naturally becomes their attachment to monarchy, and *vice verſa*.

Factions ſubſiſt long after the original motives have ceaſed to actuate both parties. The real difference between the Guelf, and the Ghibeline factions was long over in Italy before the factions themſelves were extinct.

Factions are obſerved to riſe more eaſily, and propagate faſter in free governments, where they always affect the legiſlature itſelf. The reaſon is, that the people have more influence in free governments, and are therefore more jealous of the conduct of their governors.

Upon the whole, the greateſt number of factions are probably owing to perſonal or local reaſons. All the factions in deſpotic ſtates are neceſſarily perſonal, as the people are ſure to be governed in the very ſame manner, whoever be their prince. In ſeveral of the civil wars of the Romans, the ſoldiers fought more for their commander than for the cauſe. Such wars are generally terminated by the death of the commander. In more modern times, and even in freer governments, we find that the Neri and the Bianchi of Florence, the Fregoſi and Adorni of Genoa, the Coloneſi and Orſini at modern Rome, were all chiefly perſonal factions.

From whatever cauſe factions ariſe, their effects are often laſting and dreadful. The tribe Pollia and Papiria always voted on oppoſite ſides for near three hundred years. The Praſini and Veneti, founded on the difference of colour in the livery of the combatants at the public games, never ceaſed their animoſities till they had nearly ruined the Greek empire. In the year 1327, moſt of the great houſes in Ireland were divided one againſt another; the Giraldines, the Butlers, and Breminghams on one ſide, and the Bourcs, and Poers on the other. The ground of the quarrel was no other, but that the lord Arnold Poer had called the earl of Kildare a rimer. This quarrel was proſecuted with ſuch malice, that the counties of Waterford and Kilkenny were deſtroyed with fire and ſword.

But never was a ſtate ſo unfortunate with reſpect to factions as the Greek empire. The ſeveral parties at Conſtantinople, whenever they invited the Turks to come and aſſiſt them, always ſtipulated, that they ſhould take into captivity all they ſhould meet with of the oppoſite party. Indeed, it was religion which gave the chief ſtimulus to their mutual animoſity. No people had ever a greater averſion to heretics than the Greeks. Several of their lawful emperors were perfectly odious on that account; and the imperial family itſelf was often divided in their ſentiments. Thus when Juſtinian perſecuted thoſe who did not favour the council of Chalcedon, the empreſs oppoſed it.

It is obſerved that nations, which have arrived at great power, and extenſive empire, by ſlow degrees, have not often fallen, but by the ſame ſlow degrees; whereas conqueſts made with rapidity, have generally been loſt as quickly as they were gained. Thus the Theban power was born and died with one man, Epaminondas; and the Macedonian power with two men, Philip and Alexander. Whereas the Roman empire, which required

ſeven hundred years to eſtabliſh it, required as many to deſtroy it. There are, however, many exceptions to this obſervation. If there be any truth in it, it ſeems to be owing to this, that when conqueſts are made gradually, the conquerors have time to fall upon the beſt methods of ſecuring them, and alſo becauſe, before the laſt conqueſts are made, the people who were firſt conquered, conſider themſelves as the conquerors of the reſt, being intimately incorporated with thoſe who ſubdued them. Whereas when large conqueſts are made at once, the empire becomes unwieldly by its own greatneſs, the conquerors do not immediately hit upon the beſt methods of ſecuring their conqueſts, and all the conquered ſtates, ſeeing themſelves at once in the ſame ſituation, perceiving their intereſt to be the ſame, and at the ſame time, perceiving their own ſtrength, and the comparative weakneſs of their conquerors, eaſily join to aſſert their liberty.

In the rude and ferocious ſtate of mankind in former ages, ſome nations enriched themſelves by conquering others; as by this means they came at once into the poſſeſſion of all their ſtock of wealth, and made ſlaves of their perſons. But with leſs labour, and far leſs riſk, though with a little more patience, they might have got richer at home, without the trouble of acquiring and watching ſo many ſlaves. There was, however, a preſent advantage in the ſyſtem, when it was ſucceſsful, and it gratified the pride of a nation to have at their mercy other great and diſtant nations.

This laſt advantage, if it be any, is ſtill gained by foreign conqueſts, but perhaps hardly any other. As the humanity of modern manners leaves the inhabitants of a conquered country in the poſſeſſion of their private property, the only advantage that can accrue from conquering a nation is the direction of its

force, for the purpoſe of other conqueſts, the appropriation of its taxes, and the controul of its commerce. As the taxes will ſeldom do much more than defray the expences of government, the direction of its commerce is now conſidered as the chief article of emolument. But when the expence of conquering and keeping ſuch diſtant countries is taken into the account, the greater cheapneſs of the commodities of ſuch countries and the monopoly of their commerce will go but a little way to pay the balance.

It may be ſaid that a nation muſt be ſtronger by the addition of the power of foreign dominions. But in proportion as any nation becomes powerful, it excites the jealouſy of other nations, and thereby has much more powerful enemies to contend with; and if the liberty of commerce can be obtained (which does not ſeem to be difficult in the preſent ſtate of the world) and the ſtock of a nation conſequently encreaſe, without the expence of conquering and keeping foreign dominions, that great ſurplus of wealth will purchaſe more aſſiſtance in war than could in general be furniſhed by any conquered nation or colony; and it might be better applied for the purpoſe of *ſelf-defence*, which is the only juſtifiable uſe of arms. Had England nothing to do with the Eaſt or Weſt Indies, America, or Gibraltar, it would have fewer wars, and would, no doubt, be much more wealthy (as its induſtry would, by one means or other, find a market) and if it was invaded, would have much greater reſources for defending itſelf. Alſo, if it was thought proper to enter into an alliance with other nations, in order to ſupport a common army or navy, it would find greater reſources for that purpoſe, as well as for others.

No war is juſtifiable except that which is neceſſary to the preſervation of a ſtate, that is, a defenſive war. Motives of honour

honour and dignity are never ſufficient. Good conduct and generoſity alone can aſſert the true honour of men and of nations. And it no more becomes a great nation, than it does a great and good man, to revenge a mere affront. If motives of honour and dignity be attended to by ſtateſmen, they will involve nations in as many fooliſh and deſtructive quarrels as the ſame notions involve thoſe individuals who are addicted to duelling.

The object of war is the deſtruction of the enemy, at leaſt of his power, ſo as to diſable him from doing that miſchief to prevent which the war was engaged in. But every method of diſtreſſing an enemy is not deemed honourable, or right. A regard to public opinion, therefore, ought to regulate the ravages of war; becauſe it is for the common intereſt of mankind that they ſhould be obſerved. As the world advances in civilization, and national animoſity abates, war becomes leſs diſtreſſing to peaceable individuals who do not bear arms. It would not be extended much more, if, in time of war, commerce was permitted to paſs free, ſo that no privateers ſhould be allowed, and only ſhips of war by ſea, and fortreſſes on land, ſhould be expoſed to danger. Next to having no wars at all, this rule would be the greateſt common benefit.

One of the moſt barbarous and abſurd cuſtoms which has ariſen from the practice of war, joined to ancient ſuperſtition, is the modern *duelling*, which is ſo faſhionable in many parts of Europe. For it is hardly known elſewhere, and was unknown to the ancients. It is a remarkable inſtance of the continuance of an *effect* after the *cauſe* hath ceaſed to operate. Nobody at this day imagines that ſingle combat is a proper *appeal to God*, or that he who is in the right has any advantage in the combat over him that is in the wrong; yet a man thinking himſelf innocent and injured, and perhaps having a wife and family,

will voluntarily expoſe his life to an equal riſk with that of a man whom he deſpiſes as a nuiſance to ſociety, becauſe he has been inſulted by him. Good ſenſe will ſurely teach the world at laſt, that inſolence is beſt anſwered by contempt, and real injuries beſt redreſſed by public juſtice. The man who hath offended againſt the rules of good breeding, will find a ſufficient puniſhment in the neglect and diſgrace which his behaviour will naturally bring upon him.

LECTURE LXIII.

The Expences of Government. How moderate Taxes operate. Exorbitant Taxes. Taxes upon Poſſeſſions or Conſumptions. Their different Advantages and Diſadvantages. A Poll-tax, in what Circumſtances moſt tolerable. By whom a Tax upon Conſumptions ſhould be paid. Cuſtoms. Manufactures no proper Subject of Taxation. Land-taxes. The French Taille. Taxes on Luxuries or Neceſſaries; on Importation. Farmers of Taxes.

AN hiſtorian ſhould give particular attention to the manner in which the expences of government are defrayed. For very much of the public happineſs and tranquillity depends upon it, and many governments have been ruined by wrong methods of doing it. Either the *taxes* have been too great, have been laid upon improper things, or have been collected in an improper manner.

manner. And innumerable events ſhow that the minuteſt things of this nature are of great importance.

Moderate taxes operate like a conſtant ſpur and obligation to labour, and thereby greatly contribute to the flouriſhing ſtate of a people, particularly if they be laid on gradually. Then, the only conſequence of taxes is, that the poor increaſe their induſtry, perform more work, and live as well as before, without demanding more for their labour. This is agreeable to what is conſtantly obſerved, that in years of ſcarcity, if it be not extreme, the poor labour more, and live better than in years of plenty. Any other material diſadvantage which is an equal ſpur to labour hath the like effect.

Tyre, Athens, Carthage, Rhodes, Genoa, Venice, and Holland, all laboured under great natural diſadvantages. It ſeems more reaſonable to aſcribe the indolence of mankind in hot countries to the general goodneſs of the ſoil in thoſe countries, which, without labour, ſupplies them with the few things which are neceſſary to their ſubſiſtence, than to the heat of the climate. For wherever people can live without labour they are equally idle. No nation under the ſun can be more indolent than the Iriſh have been, or than many of them are to this day, and Sir William Temple attributes it to the goodneſs of the ſoil in Ireland; as he aſcribes the richneſs of the Dutch to the badneſs of theirs.

On the other hand, exorbitant taxes, like extreme neceſſity, deſtroys induſtry, by engendering deſpair, and even before they reach that pitch they raiſe the price of labour and manufactures in commodities of all kinds. But a free ſtate, in which there is every encouragement to induſtry, will better bear heavy taxes than a deſpotic government. How would the Turks bear the taxes which the Dutch pay? In England mer-

chants in fact lend great ſums to the ſtate on the importation of their goods. Who would venture to do this in Turkey?

Taxes may be laid either upon what is *poſſeſſed*, or upon what is *conſumed*. Taxes upon poſſeſſions are levied with little expence, but they have this diſadvantage, that they require that every man's property be known. If the owners regulated it themſelves, they would do it falſely; and if it was done by the inſpection of officers, there would be a door open to all kinds of oppreſſion and cruelty. In this caſe, however, it were unjuſt to tax a perſon according to his *property*. It ought to be according to his *ſuperfluity*, or what he can ſpare from the expences which his ſtation of life neceſſarily obliges him to.

The produce of no tax can be ſo eaſily aſcertained as that of a *poll-tax*, and therefore in arbitrary governments recourſe is often had to it. But in order to render it, in any tolerable degree, equal, and, if the amount be great, ſupportable, the people muſt be claſſed, and their circumſtances known.

Taxes on conſumption are, upon the whole, the moſt eligible, becauſe in this caſe no man pays more than he chuſes; and the conveniences he enjoys, are an equivalent for what he pays. Taxes of this kind regulate and check themſelves. For the increaſe of the impoſition is not always found to be an increaſe of the revenue, ſince the dearneſs of a commodity leſſens the conſumption. In this caſe it is of vaſt conſequence that the ſeller pay the tax. He will make nothing of the expence, becauſe he makes that addition to the price of his goods, and with the buyer, particularly after ſome time has elapſed ſince the impoſition, it is confounded with the price of the commodity, and conſidered as part of it. Beſides, if the buyer pay the tax, he is liable to be ſearched, which would be intolerable in a free ſtate. This method, however, only deceives

deceives the people, making them ignorant of what they contribute to the expences of government. As the price of living is increaſed by all taxes on conſumption, men muſt have more for their labour, and conſequently thoſe manufactures will come dearer to a foreign market.

Sir James Stuart ſuppoſes*, that the beſt poſſible tax would be upon the *ſale* of every commodity. But this would be a check on the transferring of property, which, in a commercial ſtate, ought to be made as eaſy as poſſible; ſo that it ſeems better to have reſpect either to the *poſſeſſion*, or the *conſumption*, of commodities, in the levying of all taxes.

The fewer particulars are liable to be inſpected in a free ſtate the better. This makes the *exciſe laws* ſeverely felt in England. When duties are paid upon importation only, it is much the eaſieſt for the country. With us, theſe taxes are called *cuſtoms*, and, as they are levied, are the moſt injudicious of all our taxes. They are a great temptation to ſmuggling, and frauds of all kinds. The ſtate never receives what it ought; and yet the fair trader, beſides infinite trouble and vexation, pays more, in fees, to expedite his buſineſs, than the ſtate requires.

If the wealth and ſtrength of a nation depend chiefly upon its *manufactures*, it is impolitic to ſubject them to any tax. It ought to be laid upon the *property* acquired by them; becauſe a tax on the manufacture itſelf diſcourages induſtry, and prevents the acquiſition of that wealth which alone can pay the tax. If the tax be laid on any inſtrument employed in the manufacture, the manufacturer will be embarraſſed in his art, and be reduced to inconvenient methods of avoiding it. And, in general, if he cannot go to work without thinking of the tax, and knowing

* Political Œconomy, vol. i. p. 593.

that

that he pays it *as a manufacturer*, he will often chuſe to avoid a preſent certain loſs by abandoning the proſpect of great future gain. Whereas, when property, acquired by manufactures as well as in any other way, is taxed, the grievance is remote, and he knows that if ever he be ſubject to pay, he will be proportionably able to do it.

Many perſons are of opinion that any country would beſt ſupport the expences of government by laying all taxes on ſome one viſible object, as land, or land and houſes. The tax could not then be evaded, and though it might ſeem to affect only one object, it might in reality affect every article of conſumption, becauſe they would all, in ſome way or other, depend upon it. If the land alone be taxed, it muſt proportionably raiſe the price of every produce of the ſoil, as corn, cattle, materials for manufactures, &c. and conſequently of *labour* in general; becauſe the labourer muſt be fed and cloathed from the produce of the ground; and the proprietor and farmer, by raiſing the price of their commodity in proportion, would feel no particular burthen. In this, as in every other caſe, the tax would ultimately be paid by the *conſumer*, who would, of courſe, be the moſt able to pay, and would enjoy the value of it.

If all the taxes were laid on houſes, or habitations of any kind, it would not be very difficult to make it affect all the inhabitants according to their property, becauſe all perſons muſt have houſes, and in general would have them in proportion to their fortunes. If a few perſons ſhould content themſelves with living in a diſreputable manner, in order to avoid the tax, the loſs to the ſtate would not be very great. They muſt at leaſt eat, drink, and be cloathed, and the price of thoſe neceſſaries will be raiſed by every poſſible mode of taxation.

To raiſe all taxes upon the *land*, or rather the nett produce of it, after the expences of culture are deducted, is the great maxim of the French œconomiſts. They ſay that the nett produce is the only real wealth that is annually reproduced, and that the only poſſible way of taxing this, in any regular proportion, is to levy the tax directly upon the produce. But the produce of land is ſo various, that this would make a very complex ſyſtem, if it was made to affect all who ſhould uſe the produce, and if any regard was paid to its being a neceſſary, or a ſuperfluity; ſo that it will be found more expedient to lay the tax upon the property, of which a man is poſſeſſed. And perhaps the only practicable method of doing this is, to tax his *expenditure*, always laying the greateſt burthen on articles that are leaſt neceſſary. As to the wealth which perſons hoard, it does not ſeem poſſible to come at it without great oppreſſion; and it may be preſumed that whatever is hoarded by one generation, will be diſſipated in the next.

All the taxes in China are laid upon the land. Nothing is demanded of the artiſans or merchants *.

All taxes ſhould affect men in proportion to their *property*, and not their *rank*, becauſe it is their property only that enables them to pay taxes. To exempt certain claſſes of men, evidently more able to pay the tax than thoſe who do pay it, fixes a mark of ignominy on thoſe who pay. It gives them a conſtant feeling of their degradation, and excites envy towards their ſuperiors, which cannot be productive of any good.

In England the nobility and the members of the houſe of commons have ſome perſonal privileges, but the taxes affect them as much as others. They have, indeed, the privilege

* Memoirs ſur les Chinois, vol. iv. p. 305.

of being exempt from the poſtage of letters; but it is on the idea of their correſpondence having for its object the concerns of the public. If the members of parliament ſhould venture to exempt themſelves from any conſiderable tax, the country at large would not bear it.

Nothing can well be imagined more oppreſſive than the *taille* in France. It is levied directly upon men who, having nothing but their wages for their ſubſiſtence, without property, and without furniture, beyond their neceſſary utenſils, cannot even by violence itſelf be compelled to pay. Every collector (who is himſelf conſtrained to undertake to levy the tax) had a right to call upon the four perſons in the diſtrict, whoſe proportion of the taille was the greateſt, to fill up all deficiencies. Though they might already have diſcharged their own ſhare of the tax, they were compelled, by the ſale of their effects, or even by impriſonment, to expiate the negligence of the collector, or the poverty of their countrymen*.

The eaſe of the country has been too little the object of thoſe who have impoſed taxes. They have not ſtudied in what manner to proportion the burden of them to the capacity of the people to bear it, but have only endeavoured to get as much as they could without exciting any dangerous commotions, or ſuch a clamour as would make it impoſſible for them to keep their places. They have, therefore, too often ſpared the rich, whoſe union was eaſy and formidable, and have oppreſſed the poor, who were too numerous, and too much diſperſed, to unite in great bodies, and whoſe complaints the prince ſeldom hears of.

When great numbers of perſons are ſupported by the revenues of a country, and are of courſe intereſted in the continuance of

* Life of Mr. Turgot, p. 126.

its

its burdens, the moſt upright miniſters will find it difficult to afford it any relief. This was fully experienced by Mr. Turgot. All the indirect grants of former miniſters were conſidered as ſo many *rights*, and many had transferred them as real property. The united claims of theſe perſons, and intrigues, overpowered that great man*.

It is always preferable to tax luxuries, becauſe this will not tend to raiſe the price of neceſſaries, and therefore will only affect thoſe who can beſt afford to pay. But ſtill, ſince many will be leſs able to pay the poor, whoſe labour ſupplied their luxury, theſe muſt loſe their employment, or at leaſt change it for one that may be leſs advantageous to them.

It is a maxim in all commercial ſtates, that taxes be laid ſo as to favour the *exports* as much as poſſible, and to lay the chief burden upon what is *imported*. This encourages an application to home-manufactures, and navigation. Taxes upon foreign commodities oblige a people to apply to them themſelves. This has been the happy effect of many taxes upon foreign manufactures in England, particularly upon German and Flemiſh linens; and the tax on French brandy has encreaſed the ſale of rum, and contributed to the ſupport of our ſouthern colonies. But it ſhould be conſidered that this is taxing the whole community for the advantage of a part of it; and unleſs that part be neceſſary to the whole, their benefit may be purchaſed at too great a price. If more money be given for Weſt-India commodities, in the price that individuals pay for them to our planters, than they would do if the importation of them was free to all the world, it had been better for the country at large if no ſuch colonies had been known, except they ſhould in ſome other manner

* Life of Mr. Turgot, p. 189.

add to the ſtrength and wealth of the nation; and the expence of one war on their account will much more than overbalance any advantage of that kind.

Taxes are raiſed with the leaſt trouble to the government by means of *farmers*, who advance the money as it is wanted. But as the farmers muſt neceſſarily have an opportunity of doing more than barely refunding themſelves, and certainly will not do leſs, it is generally the moſt expenſive method in the end, and ſooneſt exhauſts the people. Beſides, it is always an odious method of taxation. The people cannot with any patience ſee the farmers growing rich at their expence. The eſtabliſhment of farmers of the taxes was a great hurt to Rome. In a deſpotic ſtate, where the taxes are paid to the king's officers, the people are infinitely more happy; witneſs Perſia and China. The great abuſes which ariſe from the ſyſtem of taxation in France proceed not from the number, or the weight, of the taxes, but from the expenſive, unequal, arbitrary, and intricate method of levying them; by which induſtry is diſcouraged, and agriculture rendered a beggarly and ſlaviſh employment.

In France, ſays Sir James Stewart*, the collection of taxes coſts the ſtate no leſs than ten per cent. whereas in England the expence of collecting the exciſe, adminiſtered by commiſſioners, who act for the public, and not by farmers who act for themſelves, does not coſt more than five pounds, twelve ſhillings, and ſix-pence in the hundred.

* Political Œconomy, vol. i. p. 512.

LECTURE LXIV.

Of National Debts. Origin of them. Want of Credit in ancient States, and in ſome Countries at preſent. Advantages and Diſadvantages of National Debts. Great Danger from them. Sinking Funds.

TO augment the national ſupplies upon any particular emergency beyond their annual produce, it has been the practice of ſome ſtates to anticipate their revenues, by borrowing ſums of money on the credit of them. This *paper credit*, as it is called (from the circulation of the government ſecurities upon paper, borrowed from the practice of merchants) is ſaid to have had its origin in Florence, in the year 1324, and to have been brought into France from Italy after it had been ſuppreſſed by Henry IV.

Sir James Stewart gives the following more particular account of the origin and progreſs of national debts*. The Jews, baniſhed from France on account of their extortion in the holy wars, fled into Lombardy, and there invented the uſe of *bills of exchange*, in order to draw their riches from countries to which they durſt not reſort to bring them off. Thus bills, and promiſſory notes, in various forms, came to be uſed by all perſons, and even by kings.

At firſt princes mortgaged their lands and principalities, in order to obtain a ſum of money; acting upon the principle of

* Political Œconomy, vol. i. p. 353.

private

private credit, before government acquired that ſtability which is neceſſary to eſtabliſh a firm confidence. The ſecond ſtep was to raiſe money upon branches of the taxes aſſigned to the lender. But this method was attended with great abuſe and oppreſſion, and at length public credit aſſumed its preſent form. Money was borrowed upon determinate or perpetual annuities, a fund was provided for that purpoſe, and the refunding of the capital was in many caſes left in the option of government, but was never to be demandable by the creditor. Francis I. was the firſt who contracted a regular debt on a perpetual intereſt upon the town-houſe of Paris, at about eight per cent. when legal intereſt in England at the ſame time was ten per cent*. Voltaire ſays, that Lewis XIV. left a debt of about a hundred and eighty millions ſterling.

This cuſtom of contracting national debts is quite contrary to the practice of antiquity, in which almoſt all ſtates made proviſion of a public *treaſure* in time of peace againſt the neceſſities of war; for want of which war is now attended with the increaſe of taxes, and the decay of commerce. But then the ancients had it not in their power to make uſe of expedients which nothing but the far greater ſecurity of property, and greater fidelity and honour, both in individuals, and in public and private ſocieties, than they ever knew, could make practicable. They either could not have borrowed at all, or upon ſuch intereſt, that the remedy would have inſtantly been intolerable. Whereas with us, though the future evils of borrowing may be great, they come on gradually and imperceptibly, ſo long as the intereſt of the borrowed money can be paid without much difficulty.

* Stewart's Political Œconomy, vol. i. p. 377.

Credit

Credit was ſo low in France, and intereſt ſo high, that ſeven millions borrowed by the late king became a debt of thirty-two millions to the ſtate*. While the king of France paid exorbitant intereſt for the money advanced him, and Maximilian was known by the name of *Moneyleſs*, the Venetians raiſed whatever ſums they pleaſed at the moderate premium of five per cent†.

It ſeems not very difficult briefly to point out the principal advantages and diſadvantages attending theſe national debts. The capital advantage of them is, that they afford relief in great emergencies, and may thereby give a greater permanency to ſtates, which in former times, for want of ſuch great occaſional reſources, were liable to be overturned without remedy. And if the taxes neceſſary to pay the intereſt of theſe debts be not immoderate, they are, as was obſerved before, of no diſſervice to a nation upon the whole.

Some have repreſented the national debt as having the ſame operation with the addition of ſo much capital ſtock to the nation, encouraging the induſtry of it, &c. But whatever money is iſſued in the form of paper by the government, it is firſt depoſited in the form of caſh by the individual. The man who pays the tax gives up ſo much of his property, ſo that it ceaſes to be productive to him, and it is generally expended by government in army and navy expences, revenue of officers, gratuities, &c. which yield no return. It is like a man giving his ſon a ſum of money which he expends in eating and drinking. The money, no doubt, is employed, and thereby induſtry is encouraged; but it is only that kind of induſtry which raiſes the price of con-

* Stewart's Political Œconomy, vol. i. p. 472.

† Robertſon's Charles V. vol. i. p. 135.

ſumable

ſumable goods If any man, or any nation, ſhould give *all* their property in this manner, they would certainly be impoveriſhed, though thoſe to whom their money was transferred would be gainers.

Some perſons have paradoxically maintained that there can be no inconvenience whatever attending any national debt; that by this means the price of every thing is indeed raiſed, but that this affecting all perſons alike, they will be as well able to pay the advanced prices, as they were the lower ones. The fallacy of this reaſoning may perhaps be moſt eaſily expoſed by the following ſtate of the caſe.

Let us ſuppoſe a ſociety to conſiſt of a thouſand labourers, and a thouſand perſons juſt able to employ them. If this ſociety be loaded with any debt, and conſequently be obliged to pay a tax; ſince all the labourers muſt ſtill ſubſiſt, and their employers can give them no more than they do, ſome of theſe muſt become labourers themſelves, ſo that the price of this additional labour ſhall be equal to the amount of the tax. It is evident, therefore, that the whole power of the ſociety will be exhauſted when the thouſand, who firſt employed the labourers, ſhall be all brought into the ſame ſtate with them; and when the price of their labour ſhall be limited by the market to which it is brought. The tendency of a public debt, therefore, is to encreaſe the quantity of labour in a country; and to a certain degree this may be favourable, by promoting induſtry, but when carried to an extreme, the country muſt be diſtreſſed.

So long as the labourers can raiſe the price of their labour, no tax can hurt *them*. If, for inſtance, each of them be obliged to pay one ſhilling a week, and their wages have been twelve, they muſt demand thirteen ſhillings; for their wages muſt be ſufficient to ſubſiſt them.

them. But when the wages they muſt abſolutely have, in order to pay all the demands upon them, cannot be given, the proceſs muſt ceaſe.

We ſhall always deceive ourſelves when we imagine that the caſe of a country is, in this reſpect, at all different from that of an individual, or of a number of individuals, and that though debts may ruin the latter, they will not hurt the former. The only difference is, that a ſtate cannot be compelled to pay its debts. But when its credit is exhauſted, it will not only be unable to contract any more debts, but may not have it in its power even to pay the intereſt of thoſe already contracted; and in that caſe it muſt neceſſarily be expoſed to all the inconveniences attending the numerous inſolvencies which muſt be occaſioned by its own. And if the inſolvency of one great merchant, or banker, produce great diſtreſs in a country, how dreadful muſt be the conſequence attending the inſolvency of ſuch a nation as England. It muſt be ſo extenſive and complicated as no politician can pretend to deſcribe *a priori*.

The inconvenience of ſuch a debt as the Engliſh have now contracted, and which they rather ſeem diſpoſed to increaſe than diminiſh is great, and may be fatal. If foreigners ſhould become poſſeſſors of the greateſt ſhare of our funds, we are in fact tributary to them, and the difference is very little if they be natives. For ſtill the people are debtors to another body than themſelves, though they may, in ſome reſpects, have the ſame intereſt. But the moſt we have to fear from the accumulation of the national debt will begin to be felt when the intereſt of it comes to be ſo great, that it cannot be defrayed by the taxes which the country is able to raiſe, and when, conſequently, the monied people, notwithſtanding their intereſt in keeping up the national credit, will not venture to lend any more. Then

one of theſe two conſequences muſt follow, which I ſhall introduce in the words of Mr. Hume. "When the new "created funds for the expences of the year are not ſubſcribed "to, and raiſe not the money projected; at the ſame time that "the nation is diſtreſſed by a foreign invaſion, or the like, and "the money is lying in the exchequer to diſcharge the intereſt "of the old debt; the money muſt either be ſeized for the "current ſervice, and the debt be cancelled, by the violation of "all national credit; or, for want of that money, the nation "be enſlaved."

What we have moſt to fear from the accumulation of our national debt is not perhaps a ſudden bankruptcy, but the gradual diminution of the power of the ſtate, in conſequence of the increaſe of taxes, which diſcourage induſtry, and make it difficult to vend our manufactures abroad. The private revenue of the inhabitants of Great-Britain, Dr. Smith ſays*, is at preſent as much incumbered in time of peace, and their ability to accumulate as much impaired, as it would have been in the time of the moſt expenſive war, had the pernicious ſyſtem of funding never been adopted. The practice of funding, he ſays, has gradually enfeebled every ſtate which has adopted it. The Italian republics ſeem to have begun it. Genoa and Venice the only two remaining which can pretend to an independent exiſtence, have both been enfeebled by it. Spain ſeems to have learned the practice from the Italian republics; and (its taxes being probably leſs judicious than theirs) it has in proportion to its natural ſtrength been ſtill more enfeebled. The debts of Spain are of very old ſtanding. It was deeply in debt before the end of the ſixteenth century, about an hundred years before

* Wealth of Nations, vol. iii. p. 528.

England.

England owed a ſhilling. France, notwithſtanding its natural reſources, languiſhes under an oppreſſive load of the ſame kind. The republic of the United Provinces is as much enfeebled by its debts as either Genoa or Venice. Is it likely then, he adds, that in Great-Britain alone a practice, which has either brought weakneſs or deſolation into every other country, ſhould prove altogether innocent?

When debts have been contracted, and a fund appointed for paying the intereſt of them, it is generally contrived to be ſo ample, as to do ſomething more than this, and the ſurplus is made a fund for *ſinking*, or paying off, the debt; and is therefore called *a ſinking fund.* And as diſcharging the debt diſcharges the intereſt of the debt at the ſame time, it neceſſarily operates in the manner of compound intereſt, and therefore will in time annihilate the debt. But the temptation to apply this ſinking fund to other purpoſes is ſo great, that it has been of little uſe in this country.

To facilitate the payment of theſe debts, it is cuſtomary with ſome nations to borrow upon lives, viz. either to give the lender an annuity for his own life, or an annual ſum to a number of perſons to expire with the laſt life. This laſt method is called a *tontine.* Both theſe methods have ſucceeded better in France than with us.

Mr. Poſtlethwaite makes an eſtimate of what taxes theſe kingdoms may be ſuppoſed to bear, in the following manner. People who live in plenty, as in England, may part with a tenth of their income; but ſo poor as Scotland and Ireland in general are, a twentieth to them would be as much as a tenth to the Engliſh. By which, conſidering the number of the people, and their incomes, computed at a medium, he puts the amount

of all that can be drawn from the three kingdoms annually at eight millions, three hundred and ſeventy-five thouſand pounds.

Experience has taught us that we are able to bear a much greater burden than this, or than any perſon, even the moſt ſanguine among us, had imagined we ever could bear; our national debt at preſent being about two hundred and forty millions, the intereſt of which is twelve millions. However, without naming any particular ſum, if the national debt ſhould be raiſed ſo high that the taxes will not pay the intereſt of it, and at the ſame time defray the ordinary expences of government, one or other of the conſequences above-mentioned muſt enſue. And in the mean time our manufactures muſt be burdened, and conſequently our ability to pay taxes muſt be diminiſhed, by every addition to the national debt.

Inſtead of paying off any part of the national debt, ſome think it would be better, as ſoon as the produce of any tax would enable the ſtate to do it, to take off ſome of the other more burthenſome taxes, eſpecially ſuch as tend to check manufactures, and thereby to diminiſh the power of acquiring wealth. For if the country grow more wealthy, the debt, though nominally the ſame, becomes in reality leſs, in proportion to the greater ability to diſcharge it. Thus a perſon in a good way of trade does not always find it his intereſt to pay his debts, becauſe he can employ that ſurplus by which he could diſcharge them to a better account. For it is poſſible that with an hundred pounds, by which he might have diminiſhed his debts, he may acquire a thouſand.

It can hardly be expected, however, that miniſters of ſtate will have the magnanimity, or the judgment, to act upon this plan. Otherwiſe, by adding to ſome taxes, as thoſe on land

and

and houſes, acquired by wealth, and diminiſhing thoſe on manufactures, by which wealth is acquired, a nation might become ſo wealthy, as that its debts would be of little conſequence to it. But till mankind are cured of the expenſive folly of going to war, it is not even deſirable that nations ſhould have any large ſurplus of wealth at the diſpoſal of their governors; as it would be ſure to be ſquandered in ſome miſchievous project. Wiſe nations therefore, not being ſure of a ſucceſſion of wiſe governors, will be content to be juſt able to pay the intereſt of their debts, as the only ſecurity for peace, and indeed the only guard againſt deſtruction.

LECTURE LXV.

The Hiſtorian directed to attend to whatever contributes to the Improvement of uſeful Science. Changes in the Face of the Earth. The Abbe de Bos's Obſervation on the Air of Italy. Changes with reſpect to the Fertility of ſeveral Countries; to what they are owing. Rivers which have changed their Courſe. Whatever tends to make us better acquainted with Human Nature to be particularly attended to. In what Reſpect Hiſtory may aſſiſt us to correct the Errors of a Theory drawn from Experience. Of National Characters, whether depending upon Climate, or other Cauſes. Varieties among Mankind, in their Moral Sentiments, in the Make of the Human Body, and the different Diſeaſes to which Men have been Subject. The different Vices which have prevailed in different Ages. An Attention to Language recommended.

I Have now held forth to your view the grand objects of attention to every wiſe politician, and every ſenſible reader of hiſtory; namely thoſe things which tend to make a nation *happy*, *populous*, and *ſecure*, together with what relates to the expences of government, and have endeavoured, for your further aſſiſtance, to point out the principal of their mutual connexions and influences. It would be endleſs to point out every uſeful object of attention to a reader of hiſtory, as there is no branch of uſeful knowledge which hiſtory will not furniſh materials for illuſtrating and extending.

Modern

Modern mechanics have been improved by an acquaintance with what the ancients had executed in that way. Natural philoſophy may yet receive great light from the accounts which many hiſtorians give of the natural hiſtory of different countries. The principles of aſtronomical calculation may be farther aſcertained, and perfected, by means of the hiſtory of celeſtial appearances, ſuch as eclipſes and comets. And hints may with advantage be taken, from the accounts of diſeaſes mentioned in hiſtory, to improve the ſcience of medicine.

Some changes which have taken place in the face of the earth juſtly challenge the attention of natural philoſophers, particularly ſuch as the Abbé de Bos has made his obſervations upon. He is of opinion, that Italy is warmer at preſent than it was in the times of the ancients; a remark which may be extended to other European climates, owing probably to the lands being cleared of wood, to the marſhes being drained, and the country better peopled and cultivated. On the other hand, the northern parts of Europe appear to be colder than they were ſome centuries ago, and ſeas which were open formerly are not navigable now, on account of their being obſtructed by ice.

It is worthy of notice, in this view, that when the form of government has deſtroyed a ſpirit of induſtry, the ſoil itſelf ſeems to become barren. Who, for inſtance, from ſeeing the preſent ſtate of Egypt, Paleſtine, Aſia Minor, ſome parts of Greece, Africa, or Sicily, would ever imagine that they had formerly been ſo fruitful as all hiſtory demonſtrates them to have been. Time has alſo made a conſiderable alteration in the courſe of many great rivers. The courſe of the Rhine is quite changed from what it was formerly. The river Oxus no longer runs into the Caſpian ſea. The ſea has in many places gained upon the land, and in other places towns which were formerly

ſea-ports

ſea-ports have now no advantage of that kind, the ſea having removed to ſuch a diſtance from them.

The hands of men have made many conſiderable alterations in the face of the earth. The Nile, it is ſaid, once loſt itſelf in the ſands of Lybia, the Iaxartes, which formerly ſeparated the barbarous from the civilized nations of Aſia, no more empties itſelf into any ſea. Its waters have been divided and diſſipated by the Tartars. The draining of marſhes, the clearing of woods, and the multitude of canals in many countries, make the face of the earth aſſume a very different appearance; and the ſpirit for improvements of all kinds, which now prevails in many parts of the world, will, no doubt, in time, produce farther changes, of which we have no idea; and the conſequences of thoſe changes may be what thoſe who make them may leaſt of all think of.

The only object of attention I ſhall endeavour to point out more particularly is *the knowledge of human nature*, which may be viewed in a variety of lights, and to conſiderable advantage in the glaſs of hiſtory.

Experience and ſelf-examination may aſſiſt us in adjuſting the general theory of the human mind. But it is in hiſtory alone that we can ſee the ſtrength of its powers, the connexion of its principles, and the variety to which individuals of the ſpecies are ſubject, together with many other particulars, equally curious and uſeful to be known, by a perſon who is deſirous thoroughly to underſtand this very important and intereſting ſubject.

An European would allow too little to the ſtrength of imagination, and the influence of the mind upon the body, if he formed his judgment from facts within the compaſs of his own obſervation only. If he cannot travel, he muſt read oriental hiſtory, before he can be a competent judge of it. In the Eaſt, even convulſions are frequent at the bare recital of a ſtory, or the

delivery of a piece of eloquence. The utmoſt vehemence in action is quite natural to them. They expreſs their ſenſations by cries, lifting up their arms, and the agitation of their whole bodies. And geſtures which outgo every poſſible natural impulſe, to a degree which with us would paſs for ridiculous and mad, are not, with them, accounted extravagant. The Mahometan monks and derviſes whirl themſelves round in their extaſies with inconceivable rapidity: they even receive their ſultans with theſe convulſions. Alſo the tenderneſs of the orientals for the living exceeds our benevolence, and we are as far ſhort of them in our regards to the dead.

In this age of reaſon and philoſophy we ſhould be abſolutely ignorant without the help of hiſtory, how deplorably the beſt faculties of the human mind may be ſunk and fettered by ſuperſtition. The minds of almoſt all the ancients were inſlaved by it, to a degree of which very few of the moderns have any juſt conception. All the religion of the ancients, that the learned Greeks and Romans leaſt of all excepted, was ſuperſtition of the moſt abſurd kind.

Some ſpecies of ſuperſtition roſe even to a great height under the ſhelter of chriſtianity in barbarous ages. Never was the folly of witchcraft in ſo much credit as in the reign of Henry III. of France. A magician condemned to be burned declared, on his examination, that there were above thirty thouſand of the ſame profeſſion in France. In the year 1609, ſix hundred ſorcerers were condemned in the juriſdiction of the parliament of Bourdeaux, and moſt of them burned. The famous curate Lewis Guaffredi, burned at Aix in the year 1611, had publicly owned that he was a ſorcerer, and the judges believed him.

In ſome reſpects, hiſtory bids fairer for determining the connexion between different principles, diſpoſitions, and ſituations

of the human mind, than any reaſoning *à priori*. Such is the obſervation of Monteſquieu, whether it be true or not, that perſons very happy, or very miſerable, are equally inclined to ſeverity; witneſs monks and conquerors.

Hiſtory alſo furniſhes all that can be ſaid upon the curious ſubject of *national characters*, whatever hypotheſis we adopt with reſpect to them; whether we plead for the prevailing influence of climate, or the infection of example, and the force of habits of long ſtanding.

Thoſe who plead for the influence of phyſical cauſes, allege the indolence, the langour of body, and the ſpeculative turn of mind which are generally obſerved in people of ſouthern climates, together with the firmneſs of bodily texture, and the groſſneſs of intellects in people ſituated far to the north. They ſay with Monteſquieu, that drunkenneſs prevails over the whole earth in proportion to the coldneſs and moiſture of the climate, and that people who inhabit a windy country are generally wild and fickle, as the Gaſcons and Thracians; whereas a calm ſituation ſettles and tranquilizes the mind.

On the other hand, thoſe who endeavour to account for the variety which is obſervable in national characters from fixed moral cauſes, or from particular accidents which (might give a turn to the diſpoſitions of the founders of a ſtate, and be afterwards propagated by example, as language is) allege other hiſtorical facts, as that Athens and Thebes were ſituated near together, yet the inhabitants of thoſe towns differed much in their national character; as do the ancient and modern Greeks, though inhabiting the ſame climate. Travellers, however, do ſay, that many of the Greeks, particularly the Athenians, ſhow a great deal of natural quickneſs of apprehenſion, notwithſtanding the civil diſadvantages they labour under, diſadvantages enow to damp the

brighteſt genius that ever appeared among men. They ſay, that the people of Languedoc and Gaſcony are the gayeſt people in France, whereas the Spaniards, who are ſeparated from them only by the Pyrenees, are as remarkably heavy; that the Jews in Europe, and the Armenians in the Eaſt, have the ſame peculiar character in all places, as well as the Jeſuits, and the Quakers; and that the Spaniſh, Dutch, and French colonies, though ſituated in the ſame or ſimilar climates, retain the peculiarities of their reſpective mother countries.

Even habits which depend very much upon the conſtitution of the body, which is univerſally acknowledged to be greatly influenced by the climate, do by no means correſpond to it. Both the ancient and modern Germans, indeed, were remarkable for their addictedneſs to drinking; but the Perſians, who are now the moſt abſtemious people in the world, were, in ancient times, as much the contrary. Artaxerxes reckoned himſelf ſuperior to his brother Cyrus, becauſe he was a better drinker. Darius Hyſtaſpes cauſed it to be inſcribed upon his tomb, that no perſon could bear a greater quantity of liquor, and Alexander the Great was obliged to drink hard in order to recommend himſelf to the ſame people. The Moſcovites, a very northern nation, were as jealous as any people in the ſouth, before their communication with the reſt of Europe. The Engliſh, they ſay, have leaſt of an uniform national character, on account of their liberty and independence, which enables every man to follow his own humour.

Theſe, and all the varieties obſervable in the human ſpecies, furniſh a moſt pleaſing object of attention to a reader of hiſtory. A moraliſt, without the aid of hiſtory, which furniſhes him with more extenſive obſervations than his own experience could reach to, would be too apt to grow bigotted to arbitrary and

fanciful hypotheſes about the diviſion of the faculties of the human mind, about the proper office of each faculty, and the uniformity of its operations. Several varieties in what is called the moral ſenſe, were noted in the lecture upon the moral uſes of hiſtory. To theſe I ſhall now add, in order to lead the attention of a reader of hiſtory to other varieties of a ſimilar nature, which affect the theory of the human mind and its faculties, that the Japaneſe think ſuicide virtuous when not injurious to ſociety, and the Chineſe certainly think it no ſin to expoſe the children they cannot maintain. Theſe, and the different degrees of value ſet upon particular virtues, and the different degrees of horror conceived againſt particular vices, in different nations and ages, are well worth the attention of a philoſopher and moraliſt.

It is not beneath him to conſider even the varieties there are in the outward form of the human ſpecies; ſince it is evident there are ſome things very remarkable in the make of the body and turn of the features, which we learn from hiſtory has ever been peculiar to certain nations, and by which one may be greatly aſſiſted in tracing the origin and migration of people. I ſhall mention a few of theſe differences, with a view to excite you to inveſtigate this ſubject more thoroughly than it has yet been done.

The African blacks are well known to be different from the Europeans, and not more in the colour of their ſkin, than in the form of their lips and noſes, the hair of their heads, and the ſhape of their legs. Lapland produces no men taller than three cubits, their eyes, ears, and noſes are different from thoſe of all other people who ſurround them. As Voltaire ſays, they ſeem to be formed purpoſely for the climate they inhabit. The people of Caffraria are of an olive colour; the people of Sophila, Mont-

baza, and Melinda are black, but of a different ſpecies from thoſe of Nigritia. In the middle of Africa are little men, as white as ſnow, with faces like thoſe of the negroes, and round eyes like thoſe of a partridge. The Tartars and native Americans, and the inhabitants of Kamtſchatka, have thin beards. Du Halde ſays, the very make of the Chineſe mouth is very different from that of the Europeans, their teeth are placed in a different manner from ours, under the row ſtands out, and ſometimes that upon the upper lip, or, at leaſt on the gums of the under row, which lies inwards, ſo that the two gums ſcarce ever meet together, like thoſe of Europeans.

Even the diſeaſes to which mankind have been ſubject in different ages, and to which they are incident in different parts of the world, are a ſtriking object of attention to an hiſtorian. Diſeaſes are mentioned in antiquity which are almoſt unknown to modern medicine, and new diſeaſes have ariſen, and propagated themſelves, of which there are no traces in ancient hiſtory. The ſmall and the great pox, which are not ſo much as mentioned by any ancient author, deſtroy, it is thought, ten or twelve parts of mankind every generation. The origin of theſe diſeaſes has been the ſubject of much controverſy, and it can only be decided by hiſtory. The leproſy was hardly known in Europe till it was imported in the time of the Cruſades, and the prevalence of that diſorder in thoſe times is now hardly credible. Philip Auguſtus of France bequeathed one hundred ſols to each of the two thouſand Lazarettoes in his kingdom.

Matter of uſeful philoſophical ſpeculation may ariſe even from the conſideration of the *vices* to which mankind have been addicted, particularly to the prevalence of particular vices in certain countries and the ſucceſſion of vices in different ages. Two centuries ago (as the progreſs of revenge is ingenuouſly traced in the Law Tracts)

Tracts) aſſaſſination was the crime in faſhion in Europe, but it wore out by degrees, and made way for a more covered, but more deteſtable method of deſtruction, by poiſon. This horrid crime was extremely faſhionable in France and Italy. It vaniſhed, however, imperceptibly, and was ſucceeded by a leſs diſhonourable method of exerciſing revenge, viz. by duelling.

Laſtly, no philoſopher, in reading hiſtory, can paſs without particular obſervation whatever occurs with reſpect to the *language* of different ages and nations. Every thing relating to their riſe, progreſs, and revolutions, will demand his attention, being uſeful both in tracing the migrations of people, as was obſerved before, and in throwing light upon the ſentiments and feelings of the human mind, to which language correſponds, and being thereby ſubſervient, in a variety of ways, to many philoſophical ſpeculations.

LECTURE LXVI.

An Attention to Divine Providence in the Conduct of Human Affairs recommended. The Uſe of theſe Obſervations in demonſtrating the Divine Attributes. Compariſon of this Proof with that from the Works of Nature. Theſe Reſearches cleared from the Charge of Preſumption. Great Caution recommended. Methods and Maxims of proceeding in theſe Inquiries. Evidence of the State of the World having been improved, and Marks of its being in a progreſs towards farther Improvement: conſidered here only with reſpect to perſonal Security and perſonal Liberty. The State of perſonal Security in Greece, Rome, and the Feudal Times of Europe, compared with the State of Things at preſent. Number of Slaves in ancient Times, and during the Prevalence of the Feudal Syſtem.

THE nobleſt object of attention to an hiſtorian, and to every perſon who conſiders himſelf as a ſubject of the moral government of God, I have reſerved for the laſt place; and that is, the conduct of divine Providence in the direction of human affairs. This is the moſt ſublime ſubject of contemplation that can employ the mind of man. And, as was ſhewn in the firſt part of this courſe, has the happieſt tendency to inſpire our hearts with the ſentiments of piety and virtue.

Confuſed and perplexed as is the proſpect, which hiſtory exhibits to our view, it is, in reality, an exhibition of the ways of God, and jointly with the works of nature (which at

firſt ſight, preſent a proſpect equally confuſed and perplexed) leads us to the knowledge of his perfections, and of his will.

Hitherto, indeed, next to the ſcriptures, we have been chiefly indebted to the former of theſe inſtructors for what we know of God. But the time may come when we ſhall have as frequent recourſe to the latter. The principles of the former are, no doubt, as yet, far better underſtood; ſince by the ſucceſſive obſervations of ſome ages of mankind, much more of uniformity has been diſcovered amidſt their ſeeming irregularity. The chief reaſon of this is, that the operations of nature are more fully expoſed to our view. Every obſervation and experiment may be repeated as often as we pleaſe, and to as much advantage as we can poſſibly deviſe; whereas the events which take place in conſequence of the views of divine Providence happen but once, and our knowledge of them, and of all the circumſtances which attended them (from which only we can judge either of their efficient or final cauſes) are but imperfectly tranſmitted to us by hiſtory; for which reaſon we ſee little more as yet than a chaos, and heap of confuſion, in the ſcene.

But let not this diſcourage us in our reſearches. What is truly valuable in the hiſtory of paſt ages is every day cleared from more and more of the obſcurity in which it has been involved. In conſequence of which, the ſeries and connexion of events may be more ſtrictly traced, ſo that we may ſay, the plan of this divine drama is opening more and more, and the grand cataſtrophe growing nearer and nearer perpetually. As, therefore, this moſt intereſting ſubject may now be ſtudied to more advantage than it could hitherto have been done, we ought to give more attention to it than has hitherto been given, and endeavour to aſcertain and enlarge our knowledge of the

divine

divine perfections, from conſiderations and topics of argument, of which little uſe has hitherto been made for this purpoſe.

It may, by ſome, be thought preſumptuous in man to attempt to ſcan the ways of God in the conduct of human affairs. But the ſame objection might with equal *juſtice* be made to the ſtudy of the works of God in the frame of nature. Both methods are equally attempts to trace out the perfections and providence of God, by means of different footſteps which he has left us of them, differing only in this, that the one are much more diſtinct than the other. What is the whole ſcience of phyſiology, but an attempt to inveſtigate the reaſons, or final cauſes, of the ſtructure of the ſeveral parts of nature, with a view to ſee farther into the wiſdom and goodneſs of the Divine Being manifeſted in his works? And in fact, ſo far is this conduct, in either caſe, from impiety, that it is the proper and the nobleſt uſe we can make of our intellectual faculties, which is to attain to the knowledge of God our maker, by means of obſervations on every part of his works, or conduct, which he has thought proper to exhibit to our view, and as it were to ſubject to our examination, no doubt for this very purpoſe.

The greateſt caution is, certainly, requiſite in our reſearches into this ſubject; and very raſh, and unbecoming, would it be in us to pronounce, in a peremptory manner, what was the intention of the Diety in any of the events of this lower world, becauſe we are able to ſee, and to compare, ſo very few of the circumſtances with which they are connected. But taking for granted what we already do know of God, both from his works and from his word, we cannot err far in any concluſions we draw from the obſervation of his providence. And it cannot but be a very great ſatisfaction to a pious mind to ſee his faith in the divine power and wiſdom, which was firſt eſtabliſhed upon the

preceding foundation, corroborated by obſervations on other appearances.

To proceed, therefore, in the ſureſt manner in our enquiries into the conduct of Divine Providence, we ought to take for granted, the doctrines of the wiſdom and goodneſs of God, as ſuggeſted from his works and his word, and look upon it as a fair preſumption that we are not far wrong in our conjectures, when we ſee a courſe of events in the hiſtory of the world terminating in the ſame benevolent purpoſes. And we ought to heſitate and ſuſpend our judgment upon the view of any ſeemingly contrary appearances, waiting the reſult of farther obſervations.

This is ſtrictly analogous to the moſt approved methods of reaſoning, and the ſtricteſt philoſophical inveſtigation; and purſuing an univerſally allowed maxim in the conduct of our underſtanding in other ſimilar caſes. In examining even the works of men, if we have any reaſon to ſuppoſe uniformity and conſiſtency of deſign in them, we are guided in our enquiries into the ſtructure of their parts by a view to this conſiſtency, and never conclude againſt that conſiſtency which the greater number of appearances ſuggeſt to us, from the firſt view of circumſtances not eaſily reconcileable with it.

In like manner, ſince, in the greateſt part of the works of God, we ſee plain marks of wiſe and kind intention, we never think we ought to give up our belief of the wiſdom and goodneſs of God, becauſe we are not able to ſee how every appearance in nature is reconcileable with them; and if this be our maxim in the inveſtigation of the works of nature, much more ought it to be ſo in ſcanning the ways of God in the courſe of his providence; this being a ſubject in itſelf much more obſcure, and to which our faculties, for the reaſons given above, are much more unequal. Let an hiſtorian, therefore, attend to every inſtance

inſtance of improvement, and a better ſtate of things being brought about, by the events which are preſented to him in hiſtory, and let him aſcribe thoſe events to an *intention* in the Divine Being to bring about that better ſtate of things by means of thoſe events; and if he cannot ſee the ſame benevolent tendency in all other appearances let him remain in ſuſpence with regard to them.

Let the perſon, then, who would trace the conduct of Divine Providence, attend to every advantage which the preſent age enjoys above ancient times, and ſee whether he cannot perceive marks of things being in a progreſs towards a ſtate of greater perfection. Let him particularly attend to every event which contributes to the propagation of religious knowledge; and laſtly, let him carefully obſerve all the evils which mankind complain of, and conſider whether they be not either remedies of greater evils, or, ſuppoſing the general conſtitution of things unalterable, the neceſſary means of introducing a greater degree of happineſs than could have been brought about by any other means; at leaſt, whether they be not, in fact, ſubſervient to a ſtate of greater happineſs. I ſhall make a few obſervations upon each of theſe heads, in order to aſſiſt you in your farther enquiries into this important ſubject.

That the ſtate of the world at preſent, and particularly the ſtate of Europe, is vaſtly preferable to what it was in any former period, is evident from the very firſt view of things. A thouſand circumſtances ſhew how inferior the ancients were to the moderns in religious knowledge, in ſcience in general, in government, in laws, both the laws of nations, and thoſe of particular ſtates, in arts, in commerce, in the conveniences of life, in manners, and in conſequence of all theſe, in *happineſs*. Almoſt all theſe particulars have been demonſtrated in the courſe of theſe lectures.

I ſhall, therefore, confine myſelf, in this place, to two particulars, comprehended under the general ſubject of laws and and government, in which the ſuperiority of the internal conſtitution of modern ſtates above thoſe of the ancients will appear to great advantage, and thoſe are, *perſonal ſecurity* and *perſonal liberty*.

Perſonal ſecurity, or a freedom from violence and inſult, is certainly the moſt important object of all civil government; and it cannot be deſirable to live, where that is not firmly eſtabliſhed; and a very few inſtances will ſhew the extreme inſecurity of ancient times in compariſon of the modern, and particularly the preſent ſtate of England.

We may judge of the ſtate of Greece in this reſpect by that paſſage in a dialogue of Xenophon quoted before, in which he humorouſly ſhews the advantages of poverty, and the inconvenience of riches, and by what Tacitus ſays, that their temples were full of debtors and criminals, as churches and monaſteries uſed formerly to be in Popiſh countries.

Rome, and the neighbourhood of it, in the moſt intereſting period of its hiſtory, viz. in the time of Cicero, abounded with robbers. Salluſt ſays, that Catiline's army was much augmented by the acceſſion of highwaymen about Rome. Cicero obſerved, that had Milo way-laid Clodius by night, it might have been imagined he had been killed by highwaymen, and that the frequency of ſuch accidents would have favoured the ſuppoſition, though he had thirty ſlaves with him compleatly armed, and accuſtomed to blood and danger. By the law of the twelve tables, poſſeſſion for two years formed a preſcription for land, and of one year for moveables; an evident mark of frequent violences, when ſuch a law was neceſſary to ſecure a title to property.

Barbarous

Barbarous nations appear to have been in no better a ſituation, in proportion to the property they had. Hirtius ſays, that in Cæſar's time every man in Spain was obliged to live in a caſtle, or walled town, for his ſecurity. There are a thouſand evidences of the violence and inſecurity of the feudal times in all parts of Europe. Every retainer to a powerful lord might do whatever he pleaſed with impunity. It was no uncommon thing for a parcel of deſperate fellows, ſuch as Robin Hood and his companions, independently of any lord, to live in defiance of all the laws and adminiſtration in being, without ever being brought to puniſhment. Nay, ſuch bands of robbers often acquired a conſiderable degree of reputation. Kings entered into treaties with them, and bought their ſervice at a conſiderable price. The armies of Edward III. conſiſted chiefly of ſuch banditti, and they formed the beſt part of all the armies then employed in Europe. In thoſe times every perſon of any eſtate or property lived in a kind of caſtle; the moats, the ſtrong encloſures, and the battlements about all old country ſeats, together with many other circumſtances, ſhew that they were built more for ſecurity, than for convenience, or pleaſure.

As inſtances enow were given of the wretchedneſs of thoſe times in the lecture upon the feudal ſyſtem, I ſhall content myſelf, in this place, with an extract from Voltaire, ſhewing the ſtate of Italy ſo late as in the ſixteenth century, which was a pretty juſt picture of a great part of the reſt of Europe. "Italy, "ſurrounded by the arts, and in the very boſom of peace, was "deficient in reſpect of general police, and had a long time been "infeſted with public robbers, like ancient Greece in the moſt "barbarous times. Whole troops of armed banditti marauded "from one province to another, from the frontiers of Milan to "the farther end of the kingdom of Naples, either purchaſing "a pro-

"a protection of the petty princes, or obliging them to wink "at their rapines. The papal ſee could not clear its dominions "of them till the time of Sixtus V. Even after his pontificate "they appeared ſome times. The example of theſe free-booters "encouraged private perſons to put in practice the ſhocking "cuſtom of aſſaſſination. The uſe of the ſtiletto was but too "common in the towns, while the country was over-run with "banditti. The ſtudents of Padua uſed to knock people on "the head, as they were paſſing under the piazzas which run "along each ſide of the ſtreet."

The greater ſecurity of the preſent times, above that of the ſtate of Europe during the prevalence of the feudal ſyſtem, is evident from this circumſtance. That which we call *treaſure trove*, or the diſcovery of concealed money, &c. was in former times a conſiderable part of the revenues of the lords to whom the land belonged; which ſhews that it had been much the cuſtom to hide things of value, for fear of being plundered of them, and that thoſe who hid them had been ſo often obliged to abandon them, that nobody knew where they were. At preſent ſuch a ſource of revenue would never be thought of, but every thing that was *found*, unclaimed by any body, would be the property of the finder.

So little was the ſecurity of property in the feudal times, that men were often gainers by diveſting themſelves of it, and giving it to the church, of which they held it in fee. Methods ſimilar to this are at this day taken in Turkey.

The hiſtory of *fairs* furniſhes another argument for the improved ſtate of Europe. They were inſtituted when travelling was unſafe, and all property expoſed to plunder. However, needy lords and needy ſovereigns conſented that, upon certain terms, traders might meet and exchange their commodities, without the riſque of their being ſeized, and with the privilege

of going and returning unmoleſted. A commerce thus reſtricted was better than no commerce at all. At preſent, however, thoſe great fairs have little advantage, except what they derive from cuſtom; and in countries perfectly civilized they are almoſt fallen into diſuſe. Individuals travel with eaſe and ſafety, and do buſineſs in a manner more advantageous to themſelves.

That there is leſs domeſtic ſlavery in the world than formerly is very evident, notwithſtanding the late revival of that ſhocking practice in the Weſt-Indies. And domeſtic ſlavery is far more cruel and oppreſſive than any civil ſubjection whatever; juſt as it is more grievous to ſubmit to a petty prince, whoſe dominions extend not beyond a ſingle city, than to obey a great monarch; the ſubjects of a petty prince, and the ſlaves of a private perſon, being more immediately under the eye of their maſter.

The number of ſlaves in ancient times is almoſt incredible at this day. Strabo ſays, that ten thouſand ſlaves have been often ſold in a day for the uſe of the Romans, only in one particular place, viz. Delas in Cilicia. Eunus and Athenio gave liberty to ſixty thouſand ſlaves in Sicily, and other immenſe armies were frequently raiſed out of them. At Athens, and all the conſiderable cities in Greece, ſlaves were generally four times, or even in a greater proportion, more numerous than the freemen.

The petty tyrannies into which almoſt all ancient nations in early times were divided, could differ very little from a large family, in which one was maſter, and the reſt ſlaves. Indeed, the univerſal odium into which every name of kingly power fell in Greece and Italy, ſhews the caſe to have been as it is here repreſented.

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In the feudal times in Europe, in which oppreſſions of all kinds prevailed, this was not the leaſt evil; the labouring people, and the artiſans were as much the property of the great landholders as the ſoil itſelf, and the caſe is nearly the ſame at this day in Poland. That mankind are happier in this reſpect than formerly, and that there is a proſpect of the farther increaſe of perſonal ſecurity, and perſonal liberty, in conſequence of any courſe of events, and eſpecially thoſe which favour the propagation of knowledge in general, and of the chriſtian religion in particular, muſt be aſcribed to the wiſdom and goodneſs of God, who made, and who governs the world.

LECTURE LXVII.

The gradual Advancement of Religious Knowledge to be attended to, particularly in the Propagation of Chriſtianity, and the Circumſtances attending the Reformation. Objection to the Goodneſs of God from the State of War Mankind have generally been in. War has always borne a very great Proportion to Peace. Reflections upon the Slain in Battle. How far the Calamities of War extend. The Benefit accruing to Mankind from their Diſpoſition to hoſtility. The particular Uſe of War ſhown in ſeveral Caſes. Religion, Liberty, and the Sciences have often been promoted by War.

THE order of the divine diſpenſations, or the gradual advancement of religious knowledge, and thoſe circumſtances in the hiſtory of the world which have contributed to its advancement, are very important objects of attention to an hiſtorian and divine, but it is what would be departing out of my province to dwell upon in this place. This ſubject has been excellently treated by the late biſhop of Carliſle, in his *Conſiderations on the Theory of Religion*; in which performance he has ſhown, from the ſtate of the world, as collected from hiſtory, that Chriſt came *in the fulneſs of time*, both when the chriſtian doctrines were the moſt wanted, and when every thing was moſt favourable to their evidence and propagation.

The circumſtances of the reformation ought alſo to be attended to with the ſame view, and it ought to be conſidered that the benefit of the reformation is by no means to be regarded as confined to the reformed party. The reformation was but like a little leaven, which leavened the whole lump. The ſtate of the catholic church is prodigiouſly better than it was before the exiſtence of proteſtantiſm. There are fewer abuſes in the papal conſtitution than formerly; and popiſh princes, though they remain attached to the rites of the Romiſh church, have, in fact, thrown off all ſubjection to the pope. A ſimilar ſervice has been done to the church of England by the old puritans, and the preſent diſſenters.

Our greateſt difficulty in tracing the conduct of Divine Providence in the government of the world ariſes from the ſtate of *war*, in which, upon the firſt reading of hiſtory, mankind ſeem to have been almoſt perpetually engaged.

This is ſo ſtriking a circumſtance to the generality of readers of hiſtory, that it has been aſſerted, that hiſtory contains nothing but a view of the vices and the miſery of mankind. To me, however, and, I believe, to many others, this ſubject appears in a very different light. Times of peace and tranquility are paſſed over in ſilence by all hiſtorians, and for this reaſon the face of hiſtory preſents ſo horrid an aſpect. But if any perſon will take the trouble to calculate accurately, he will probably find, that war has borne no greater a proportion to peace than ſickneſs has borne to health, in the ordinary courſe of human life. If, therefore, the diſeaſes we are ſubject to (the conſtitution of our nature conſidered) be upon the whole ſalutary, or if that conſtitution whereby we are expoſed to them be the beſt upon the whole, ſo that we ſhould rather chuſe to

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be expoſed to them than not, no particular objection will lie to the conduct of Providence on account of the evils of war.

If, moreover, we conſider that the numbers ſlain in battle are abſolutely inconſiderable in compariſon of thoſe who die a natural death, even in very deſtructive wars, and that the plague, the ſmall-pox, and many other diſorders, do vaſtly more execution than the ſword; and beſides, that, with reſpect to the greateſt part of thoſe who actually periſh in war, the courſe of nature may poſſibly have been but little anticipated; we ſhall ſee reaſon to conclude, that, provided poſterity be in any reſpect better for the war, the lives loſt in it were very well loſt. Conſidering what kind of perſons compoſe the bulk of our modern armies, it may, without any heſitation, be ſaid, that it is more than probable, in no other way could they have done their country ſo much ſervice.

In all ſpeculations of this nature, war ought to be conſidered as confined to thoſe who are ſufferers by it. For certainly, it would be very abſurd to conſider all the people of England, or France, as in a ſtate of war during the period of their late mutual hoſtilities, when the far greater part of them were very inconſiderably affected by it, paying only a few taxes extraordinary on that account. This inconvenience (to recur to our former alluſion) is like nothing more than a ſlight cold, a temporary headach, or ſuch pains as paſs every day without any attention.

The nature and neceſſity of *evils in general*, I ſhall not undertake to diſcuſs, as it belongs wholly to another ſubject. I ſhall only, in this place, conſider whether, allowing the neceſſity of human nature being what it is in other reſpects, the diſpoſition to hoſtility has not, upon the whole, been ſerviceable to mankind, and whether they would not have been in a worſe ſituation without that diſpoſition.

Now it appears to me, that, in early ages, before mankind had acquired a taſte for intellectual pleaſures, when they ſtudied nothing but the gratification of their lower appetites, they would have ſunk into a ſtate of ſuch groſs beaſtiality, and have abuſed their bodies to ſuch a degree, as would have been almoſt inconſiſtent with the continuance of the ſpecies, had it not been for the ſalutary alarms of war, which rouſed the activity, and excited the ingenuity, of men.

It is nothing but difficulty that can call forth the utmoſt efforts of our faculties; and without a dread of the greateſt impending evils, nothing belonging to ſcience, or whatever requires the exertion of our intellectual faculties, could have been carried on. Many of the moſt uſeful arts in civil life, owe their origin to contrivances for defence or offence in war. "Men's wars and treaties, their mutual jealouſy, and the eſta-"bliſhments which they deviſe with a view to each other," ſays Mr. Charlevoix, "conſtitute more than half the occupations of "mankind, and furniſh materials for the greateſt and moſt "improving exertions *."

Mankind ſeem to have required a greater ſpur to ingenuity than merely the proſpect of providing themſelves with the conveniencies of life, or they would never procured thoſe conveniencies. It is not even the better living of the Engliſh that can induce the wild Iriſh to quit his native ſluggiſh-neſs, ſo long as he can live in his own poor way. What then could reaſonably have been expected of mankind, when the greateſt part of them were habituated to the ſame way of life? What arts, ſciences, or improvements of any kind, could have been expected from them? It is analogous to this,

* Voyage to Canada.

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that, in common life, we ſee the fear of hell operating more powerfully upon the ſenſual part of mankind, than the proſpect of all the pleaſures of virtue, or the hope of Heaven.

With reſpect to thoſe things with which the happineſs of mankind, either in a private or ſocial capacity, are moſt cloſely connected, as religion, liberty, and the ſciences; it is an undeniable fact, that they have been chiefly promoted by events which, at firſt ſight, appeared the moſt diſaſtrous.

There is nothing which chriſtians of all profeſſions dread more, and more conſtantly pray to be delivered from (and all this juſtly) than *perſecution*, though all hiſtory informs us, that, in general, nothing has been more favourable to the ſpread of the tenets of the perſecuted party. Perſecution inflames the zeal of thoſe who are perſecuted, and this ſpreads as it were by infection. By dying in any cauſe, a man gives a ſtronger proof than he could in any other way give, of his own attachment to it, and his ſteady faith in its principles and importance; a circumſtance which operates powerfully on the faith of others. Perſecution alſo diſperſed the profeſſors of chriſtianity in primitive times, whereby their doctrines were ſpread into countries whither they would otherwiſe have hardly reached at all, or not till after a much longer time.

Martyrs, likewiſe, in the cauſe of *liberty* have given the firmeſt eſtabliſhment to it in any country. This was the caſe in many of the ſtates of Greece. How much did the tragical ends of Lucretia and Virginia operate towards the liberty of Rome? Numberleſs friends to the ſame glorious cauſe were made in Holland by the death of the prince of Orange, who died fighting for it, and in England by that of the famous Algernon Sydney, who equally died a martyr to it, though under the pretence of law.

There

There is another view in which we may ſee the benefit indirectly reſulting from the wars in which bigotted princes have been engaged, as they have prevented their employing all their power to the extirpation of what they thought to be *hereſy*; and by this means the propagation of truth has been greatly favoured. The biſhop of Oſmo, confeſſor to Charles V. adviſed him to behave with generoſity to his priſoner Francis I. as the only means of ſtopping the progreſs of the Turks, and extinguiſhing the Lutheran hereſy, which he ſaid encreaſed every day, and would increaſe more, if their differences continued, but might eaſily be deſtroyed if the princes were united among themſelves*. His brother Ferdinand was obliged to defer his perſecuting meaſures by his wars with the Turks. And, to mention one inſtance more, Henry II. of France acknowledged to the prince of Orange, that, after the peace concluded between him and Philip II. of Spain, it was the deſign of that king to extinguiſh the ſmalleſt ſpark of hereſy in the low countries, and to join his arms to thoſe of France, to attack the new ſectaries with their joint forces†. How theſe projects were providentially defeated, the hiſtory of the ſucceeding times will ſhew.

Though the ſciences ſeem to be utterly repugnant to war, and, in general, certainly ſuffer by it, the cauſe of learning hath often been remarkably ſerved by it. Learned men flee from the ſeat of war, and thereby their knowledge becomes diſperſed into countries into which they would never have been induced to carry it, by any motive whatever. This happened at the taking of Conſtantinople by the Turks, when the learned men, who had no favour ſhown them by their new maſters,

* Beauſobre's Hiſtoire de la Reformation, vol. iii. p. 146.

† Thuani Hiſt. Lib. 22.

fled

fled into Italy, and eſtabliſhed ſchools, in which they taught their own literature for a ſubſiſtence. Barbarous nations generally gain arts, ſciences, religion, and a better form of government, by being conquered by a civilized nation, and they have likewiſe often acquired them by conquering the nation which was poſſeſſed of them, inſtances of which will appear in the ſubſequent obſervations on the effects of *conqueſt*, which is generally conſidered as the laſt and the worſt evil that can be ſuffered by war.

LECTURE LXVIII.

Beneficial Effects of Conqueſts: made with the moſt Eaſe where they are the moſt wanted. Benefits accruing to barbarous Nations from conquering civilized ones, or from being conquered by them. The World a gainer by the Roman Conqueſts, exemplified in ſeveral Countries. Examples of Men doing more Good by their Deaths than by their Lives. Advantages reſulting from the Feudal Wars, and from the Abuſes of Popery. Moral Maxims of Conduct deduced from our Obſervation of the Divine Being producing Good by Means of Evil.

THE effects of conqueſts have often been remarkably happy, and not leſs ſo to the conquered than the conquering people. It doth not appear, from the hiſtory of the early ages of the world, that commerce alone (if the induſtry of men could

have been ſo far rouſed as to enable them to carry it on without war) would have promoted ſuch an intercourſe between different nations, and have brought them ſo far acquainted with one another, as was requiſite for curing their mutual prejudices, for improving their genius and tempers, and thereby laying a foundation for a ſufficiently extenſive benevolence.

Hiſtory informs us, that it was war, and war only, which, making it impoſſible for the Edomites, and other inhabitants of Paleſtine to ſtay at home, forced them to ſeek ſettlements on the coaſts of the Mediterranean, and promoted the intercourſe of that part of the world with Greece; the conſequence of which was, the amazing improvement of that country, and its making a figure which will, to the end of the world, attract the admiration of mankind.

Conqueſts have, in general, been made with the moſt eaſe, when the government of the conquered people was grown very corrupt, and a change of maſters was neceſſary for the good of the country. This was remarkably the caſe of the Greek empire. The ſeveral provinces of it were oppreſſed with exceſſive taxes, which made them glad to take ſhelter, as it were, from greater evils under the government of the Saracens and Turks, who had not the luxury, or the wants, of their former maſters.

We ſee the benefit accruing to a barbarous nation from their conqueſt of a civilized one in the conqueſts which the Saracens made upon the provinces of the Greek empire, whereby they came into poſſeſſion of their ſciences; in the conqueſt of Perſia, and the ſeat of the Saracen empire, by the Tartars; who immediately adopted the religion, and ſoon became enamoured of the ſciences, of the people they had conquered. And no nation ever ſubdued the Chineſe, without conforming to their wiſe laws, cuſtoms, and manners, in every reſpect. The conqueſt of Greece by the Romans

Romans extended the knowledge of the Grecian arts, and made the Romans learned and polite; and their conquests of other nations contributed to civilize them as much.

There was not perhaps a country conquered by the Romans, but may be clearly shewn to have been a considerable gainer by its subjection, and by being incorporated into that vast and wonderfully compacted system. All Europe was in a most disordered uncivilized state before the Roman conquests; nor doth it appear that any other more expeditious, or more effectual, method could have been found to civilize them.

Gaul manifestly found its account in being conquered by the Romans. Before that event, there were no arts or commerce in Gaul, except at Marseilles, a colony of Greeks; but afterwards, Arles, Autun, Lyons, and Triers became flourishing cities. They peaceably enjoyed their municipal laws, in subordination to the regulations of the Romans, and they were animated by a very extensive commerce. The like was the case with Britain, Spain, and all the northern nations conquered by the Romans.

Polybius supposes that Greece became more populous and flourishing after the establishing of the Roman empire in that country. Syria was certainly never so happy as under the Romans; and Strabo praises the superior policy of the Romans with regard to the finances of Egypt, above that of their former monarchs; and no part of administration is so essential to the happiness of a people.

The easy communication which the uniformity of government established through that vast empire, favoured the propagation of the gospel through all the countries of which it consisted. And, to conclude, there may perhaps be something in what an ingenious author has advanced, that large empires extend the genius of mankind. I suppose he means by suggesting great

projects, in many respects, giving a greater scope to the [illegible] of men's minds, and supplying a great object to the [illegible]. And there is certainly more of grandeur and [illegible] the sublime, in the Roman history, than the [illegible] standing, in almost every other respect, the latter [illegible] agreeable object.

It justly [illegible] as our humanity to read of thousands [illegible] men being cut off in the field of battle, and to [illegible] imagination [illegible] the desolation and distress of every [illegible] war spreads through a country; but we ought to [illegible] foundation for future and general happiness [illegible] evils may, for any thing we know to the contrary [illegible]. We cannot, indeed, always see the particular [illegible] to a country from those shocks that are given to [illegible] cases, as in those mentioned above, it requires [illegible] tration to perceive them pretty distinctly.

To mention a recent and striking instance of this [illegible] more private nature. Can we conceive it possible that [illegible] of Thoulouse could have done a tenth part of the [illegible] country by his life, which it is probable he has done [illegible] in the abhorrence of biggotry, which his unjust and [illegible] has raised in a great part of that nation, and in affording a [illegible] for a book which is likely to be of so much service to the [illegible] of religious liberty as that of Voltaire's upon toleration, [illegible] other writings of a similar tendency? I shall now return to examples of a more general nature.

It has been observed before, that the constant wars of the feudal princes laid a foundation for the civil liberty we now enjoy, by obliging those princes to grant the people great privileges, in return for the supplies necessary for carrying on their wars. And thus evils of all kinds, in this and many other cases, have been seen, under the government of God, to

have

have been the occasion of greater happiness than could, in the common course of things, have taken place without them.

The intolerable abuses of popery were the means of exciting such an attention to the subject of those abuses, as brought on a quicker and more extensive spread of religious knowledge than would, probably, have taken place without those abuses. Had not about three of the popes immediately before the reformation, and particularly Alexander VI. been so enormously wicked, and Julius II. been ambitious, but not Leo X. been profuse and extravagant; had not the abuse of indulgences been so shameless, this part of Europe might have been but little improved in religious knowledge, notwithstanding the revival of letters, and the invention of printing.

Popery, during the prevalence of it, was attended with several accidental advantages. The monks were fond of defert places, which occasioned the cultivation of many of them, by drawing a concourse of people after them, so that many flourishing towns were built, in places where we should least of all expect them. A remarkable example of this is Halifax in Yorkshire.

Popery connected the several parts of Europe, which was in danger of being disjoined by the dismembering of the Roman empire. The superstition of that system provided an asylum for the remains of learning in those barbarous ages, and by fostering men's attachment to the Grecian feels of philosophy, broke the progress of authority in matters of science, thereby leaving men at liberty to follow their own genius, without depriving them of any benefit they could receive from the labours of those who had gone before them.

There was hardly any event in history so advantageous to Europe in general as *the Crusades*, and besides the numbers who lost their lives in those mad expeditions, they brought back the leprosy,

leprosy, which destroyed, and made wretched, greater [illegible] at home. But it should be considered that it was a [illegible] of establishing the liberties of the lower orders of men, [illegible] the wealth, and breaking the power of the [illegible] bringing Europe acquainted with the eastern [illegible] introducing much useful knowledge, in which [illegible] world was then greatly deficient.

Upon the whole, so evident is the tendency of [illegible] disastrous events which disfigure the face of [illegible] first looking on it, to bring about the most happy [illegible] state of things, and so superlatively efficacious is [illegible] for this purpose (or at least to close in the [illegible] with what appears, even to us, to be the best [illegible] stitution of things) that the more we study [illegible] dence, as well as those of nature, the more [illegible] be satisfied with, and to rejoice in, all the [illegible] can draw from them. The more we study [illegible] more thoroughly shall we be satisfied with our [illegible] connexions, the more will our gratitude to the [illegible] author of the universe be inflamed, and the more [illegible] we be to promote, by our conduct, and by methods [illegible] of which we are able to judge, that end, which we [illegible] Divine Being is pursuing, though by methods of [illegible] which we are not always competent judges, and [illegible] fore, we ought not to attempt to imitate.

Let the plain duties of morality be our rule of life. We [illegible] and experience their happy effects. But let us [illegible] the Divine conduct, when we see him producing the [illegible] and glorious ends, by means which are apt at [illegible] to [illegible] our narrow apprehensions, on account of their seeming to have a contrary tendency.

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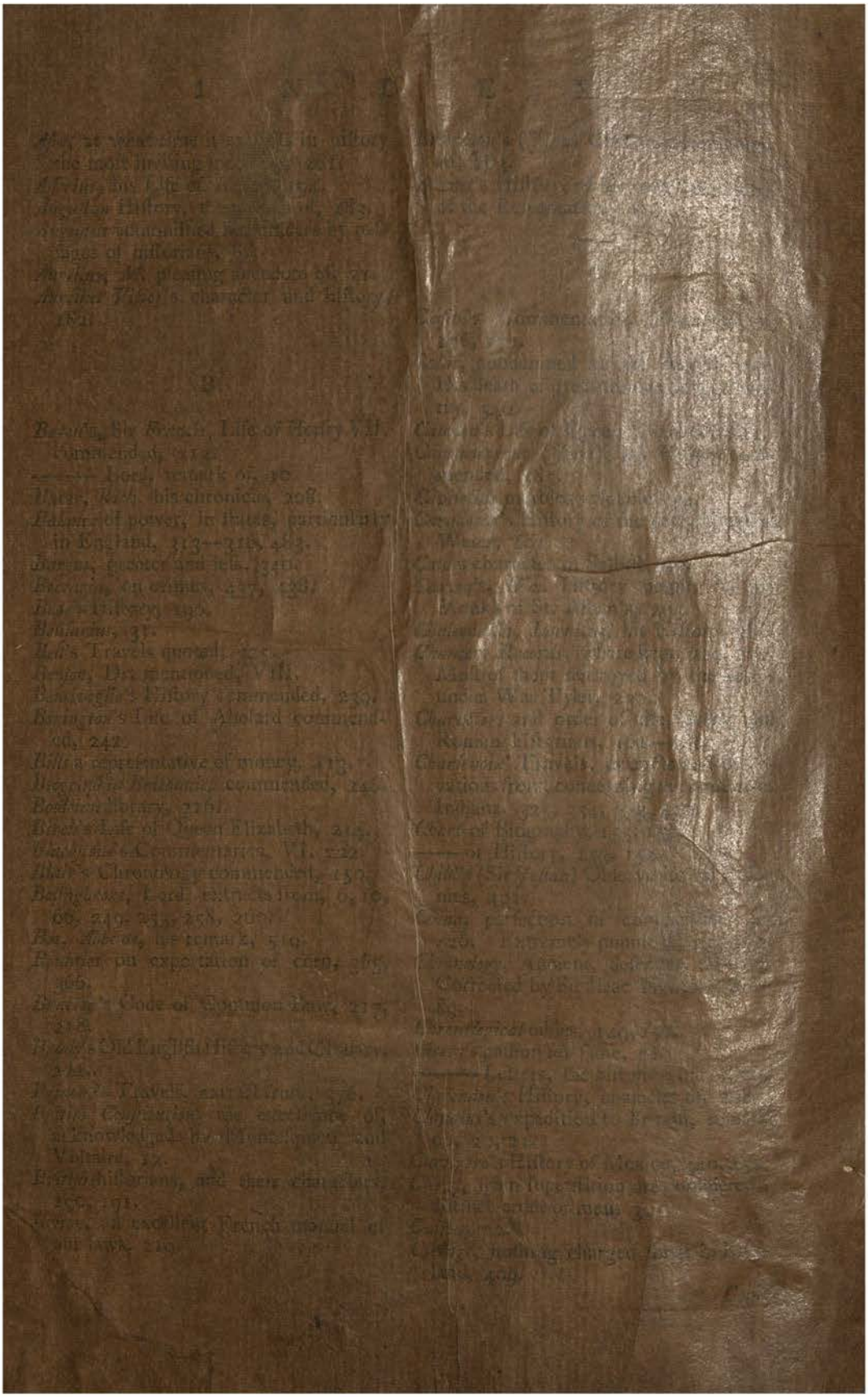

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on 15 June, 2016